

СТУДЕНТ

STUDENT

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ГАЗЕТА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СТУДЕНТСТВА КАНАДИ 50 cents CANADA'S NEWSPAPER FOR UKRAINIAN STUDENTS

Ivan Makar Arrested for Supporting Glasnost

Compiled from UPA sources by
Markian Hawryluk

While the public relation snow job on the west nicknamed Glasnost by Mikahil Gorbachev continues, drunken orgies in restaurants those initiated "in order to the hard facts of reality and dachas." Upon his arrest suppress public opinion continue to strike home in at 9am on the day of the during Brezhnev's restoration Ukraine and in particular in demonstration, Makarof Stalinism." They also the long-time cultural center immediately declared appointed out that "no other of Lviv. Since July 6, 1987, hunger strike and continued republic, even Armenia which when the first public meeting it despite the arrival of his boiling with mutiny, uses of an "unofficial" group in 25 brother with food for him this articles in this shameful years took place, there have been about twenty such public meetings with political and cultural themes in Lviv. Despite new decrees on demonstrations passed by the Supreme Soviet Presidium on July 28-29 which affirmed the right of the citizenry, guaranteed by the constitution, to hold "meetings, rallies, street marches and demonstrations," the leading organizer of the famous Lviv demonstrations, one of which had 20,000 people show up to witness the formation of the "Democratic Front in Support of Perestroika", Ivan Makar was arrested August 4, 1988 in Lviv only hours before another demonstration was to have taken place. At this demonstration, 3,000 people gathered around the statue of days imprisonment for the Makar were organized under Ivan Franko, a 19th century Ukrainian poet, shouting in slogans such as "Freedom for Ukraine." The demonstration was eventually brutally dispersed by the militia while Makar remained detained. This article had seen more than a front meant for extensive use in the Brezhnev the west, as Josyp Terelya, a Ivan Makar, an engineer by era to quiet dissentors and recently released Ukrainian profession, had previously carries a prison term of up to nationalist and religious written a letter to a Lviv three years for violation of dissident who emigrated to newspaper, Leninska Molod the social order. It had been Canada in the last year, advocating the opening of KGB customary since the arrest of described it, Gorbachev (formerly NKVD) files with Armenian dissident P. should intervene in defence of reference to "the crimes of Airikyan to bold the accused Makar. But as Makar has not the 1944-49 years in the fifteen days, but Makar has been released and as it is western Ukrainian lands...been held in prison for a very unlikely that encouraged and sometimes much longer period of time. Scherhitsky, the premier of directly organized by Mykhailo Horyn, a dissident the Ukrainian SSR, and the criminals from the NKVD and human rights activist, republic's judicial branch KGB," a demand initially issued a statement describing would act in this way without voiced at the demonstrations the proceedings as "a decisive the consent of Gorbachev, it in June and July. Makar also onslought by the local appears that Perestroika is criticized the privileges authorities on the process of just an empty promise enjoined by party officials democratization." The coupled with limited and the corrupt lifestyle they Ukrainian Helsinki Union concessions to satisfy western lead. In his letter he claimed issued a statement defending leaders and attract western that the nation was aware of Ivan Makar and denouncing investments in the USSR.



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All signed letters of reasonable length which comply with Canadian libel and slander laws will be printed unedited (save for purposes of clarity) in this column. We will not print anonymous letters, but if for personal reasons contributors wish to withhold their names or use a pseudonym, this can be arranged. In all cases, however, we require both a genuine signature and a return address.

The "western" news media is reporting, in great detail, the growing unrest in the Soviet Union, namely nationalist movements in the Baltic states and the ethnic confrontation between Azerbaijanis and Armenians. When the news media starts to analyze these events in context of other Soviet nationality groups, the unrest and demonstrations which took place in Ukraine this past summer, notably in Lviv, get mentioned as a bigger problem for Gorbachev and his policy of Perestroika and Glasnost. Perhaps this is why Gorbachev has not really tried to ouster the Brezhnevite Sheherbitsky - knowing full well that only he would be able to suppress any popular Ukrainian movement for reform.

However one must also look at the positive changes which have taken place in the Soviet Union in the preceding years. Liberties, which would have been undreamed of under Brezhnev, not to mention Stalin, exist and are propagated by some, if not all, citizens. One must realize that the nationalistic aspirations of the Baltic states did not arise due to repression but due to a loosening of the reigns of control.

In keeping with this "new and improved" Soviet Union, the Ukrainian community should alter its confrontational stand towards the Soviet Union. The strongly worded, but essentially meaningless, rhetoric should be discarded, as should some Ukrainian organisations' allegiances to failing dictatorships in South America. The Ukrainian community should move to the "high road" and present our facts to various western governments, the U.N., the "western" media and other similar institutions and get them to help in "the Ukrainian cause".

However this type of approach might still be a few years down the road given the bombastic, cliché ridden speech the new President of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians gave at the Congress' concert at Maple Leaf Gardens on Sunday, November 27. His attitude did not reflect any positive gains Ukraine might have made in the last years but recycled many worn views.

SUSK sleep

I am wondering what ever happened to SUSK, the body which is supposed to represent Ukrainian Canadian Students.

You have heard of them. Sure you have! They used to be active, up until the early eighties, in all sorts of areas, human rights, multiculturalism, the list goes on. It used to be an organisation which I looked up to and admired from a distance. The country I came from did not have such an organisation and a few of us Ukrainian student "types" would sit around and occasionally wish that a similar organisation would sprout up in our country. On moving to Canada I found myself far from center of the Canadian Ukrainian experience (cultural, political, religious) and I was never able (due partly to my own foibles) to establish contact with or become a member of SUSK. I kept informed by subscribing to and reading *STUDENT*, whose stories frequently chronicled the many adventures, misadventures and controversies that SUSK was involved in.

Lately in the pages of *STUDENT* there has been no mention of SUSK, besides the standard pre and post congress articles and advertisements. In the last issue (September-October, 1988) the SUSK resolutions were not even printed. Is this because the *STUDENT* staff is

purposefully ignoring the activities of SUSK and its member clubs or is it because SUSK has become inactive and there is nothing to print and no submissions?

In a recent conversation with a friend from the prairies, an old SUSK-ite who is very much interested in student activities and keeps contact with people who know of SUSK's activities, I was able to come up with an answer to this last question. Sadly the latter is true. To my friend, and now to me, it seems that SUSK has ceased to be anything but a hollow organisation running on impulse power, much like all the old Ukrainian organisations which came under a barrage of criticism from SUSK and *STUDENT* in the past.

It is sad to see such a potential ridden organisation decaying without a sound. A wise man once said that "it's better to burn out than to rust", if SUSK was to stop being active I always imagined a glorious end, forever tilting at windmills, forever getting under the skin of complacent bureaucratic "big-shots". It is unfortunate that complacency has gotten the better of SUSK. I can only hope that some students in the future will see the inherent potential and revitalize SUSK.

Mike Tysohladchuk
Charlottetown, PEI

On Jello and Other Fruit

I must say I enjoyed the "Rambling Mind" article, which appeared in the last issue (September-October, 1988) of *STUDENT*, describing the differences between American and Canadian political cultures in terms of cherry Jello with bananas in it. The analogy was good and being a person who likes using analogies I gave this one some thought.

The author could have included a brief insight into European political culture using the same analogy. Since European political culture, and here I am generalising, is usually unstable the Jello would have to be constantly at a boil, with the bananas in it. Since this does not make a neat and tidy analogy I suggest that into the jello which is European political culture someone has tossed pineapples. Yes, pineapples. You see, if one adds pineapples to Jello the Jello will not congeal due to some kind of natural acid/chemical contained in the pineapple.

I think that these chunks of pineapples, and no doubts all types of fruits, were always present in the European political Jello. This because Europe is so diverse, politically, and has gone through so many ideological upheavals.

Anyways, I just wanted to put in my two cents.

Jaroslava Pidkolenko
Mississauga, Ont.

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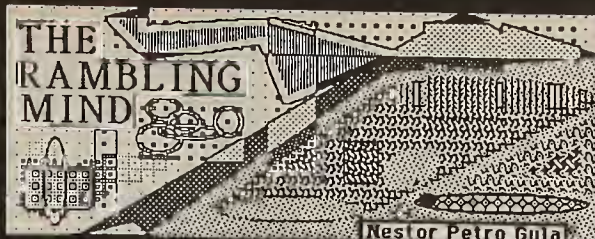


Notes on gift giving...

In the Toronto Star (Nov. 22, 1988) it was reported that the Soviet Union is giving a T-34 tank as a gift to the Canadian War Museum. The picture showed a T-34 in Budapest in 1945. It could have showed a T-34 in Budapest in 1956, or in Prague in 1968. It seems that Soviet client states do not want to use these tanks any more, so the Soviets are repackaging them and giving them away to other people. (Incidentally, Canada is looking to buy new tanks for our army.) It is incumbent on all the citizens of Canada to send a thank you note to the Soviets and they should ask about the availability of similar tanks, or even other models, to decorate their front laws. Won't the Joneses, or Klymchucks, be green with envy? Why should an arms race be an exclusive privilege of the state? As well, since Mykolaiko and Christmas is approaching, this would be an ideal gift, better than chocolate or flowers or worse, a toy tank.



The Right Honourable Joe Clark receives advice on the effectiveness of his policies.



Is this post-election period a time to perform a post-mortem for the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) debate? Perhaps. The Progressive Conservatives, who until recently had never been free traders, are going to push the deal through. The Liberals, who have traditionally been pro-free traders, and the NDP have stated that they will not attempt to stall the bill. The Liberal majority in the Senate has said that they will do likewise.

So it would seem that the deal will go through, since the parties which oppose this deal have decided to abide by the "will of the people". However the free trade debate is far from dead. I issues sensitive to Canadians still remain unresolved. The deal provides a time frame for both parties to negotiate on these questions. The Prime Minister has repeatedly tried to reassure Canadians that subsidies and social policies in Canada will not be harmed. He has even implied that if they would be harmed he would pull out of the trade arrangement with America.

However I do not want to discuss the Free Trade Agreement. You, and I, are undoubtedly saturated with the often empty and stale rhetoric we had to endure in October and November. What is much more interesting is the concept of two unequal, in terms of power, states forming a union, whether, military, economic, whatever.

Our own history bears witness to this concept. I am referring to the *Periaslavskij Dohovor*. For the initiated, this agreement was concluded in 1654 between a fledgling, newly created and embattled Hetmanate and the much more powerful and well established Russian Empire. In retrospect, it was a bad deal negotiated under trying circumstances. Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the Cossack hetman, found his forces embattled from all sides. The Polish empire, anxious to regain its Ukrainian "possessions", was advancing on its borders. The Crimean Tatars and the Turkish sultan, with whom he previously had a non-aggression treaty, were not very reliable as allies. To the north of his state lay the powerful, but still semi-dormant Russian empire. He decided to secure his northern flanks by entering into a treaty with the Russian empire.

On the 18th of January, 1654, both sides sat down to negotiations in the town of Periaslav. By March a treaty was signed and Ukrainian history was

significantly altered. Some, like Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's most revered poet, called, in one of his poems, Bohdan Khmelnytsky a traitor who sold Ukraine to the Russian empire. Some historians state that he had no choice due to the circumstances and needed to ally himself with someone to avoid isolation and certain defeat. Interestingly enough, these same arguments have surfaced in Canada during the first round of the free trade debate.

Interestingly, those comments, although acknowledging about vastly different treaties – the FTA is, in its basic form a trade deal, and the *Periaslavskij Dohovor* was basically a military agreement – relate to agreements which are similar in style. Both were negotiated quickly. Although the FTA took longer to negotiate than the *Periaslavskij Dohovor*, by modern standards and the complexity of the issues involved, the time frame was short.

More importantly both deals did not specify, in concrete terms, the sovereign rights of the smaller power. In the *Periaslavskij Dohovor* the Hetmanate had to inform the Russian Tsar of most of its actions. Although the Tsar did not have an expressed veto, nor did he have any say, technically, in the affairs of the Hetmanate, being a much larger power, economically and militarily, the Tsar could keep close tabs on the Hetmanate in Ukraine. Ukraine first became a state under the Russian empire's protectorate and soon became a territory within the Russian empire.

I am not saying that this will be Canada's fate under the FTA. I am just pointing out that our history should serve as a warning to the dangers present in vague agreements which are signed between two states of unequal stature. The European Common Market (EEC) works well because most countries are of roughly similar size, there are many of them (no one state can exert power in the true sense of the word) and all the countries have their own fundamental linguistic character, their own deeply rooted history and culture.

As Leonard Cohen said in a concert he gave in Toronto: "As I was packing my bags to go to New York my mother came in and said 'Son you better be careful there cause you know, those people down there are different than us'. And that's all I got to say about free trade.



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SUBMIT TO STUDENT

Articles, poetry, cartoons, photographs – we need you to submit your contributions to **STUDENT**, to help us cover what's going on in the Ukrainian community in Canada and around the world. Anything sent in by students, about student life, or of interest to the student community, will be considered for publication. Although we cannot guarantee your work will get into print, we will give each contribution our careful consideration. Ukrainian-language submissions are of course, most welcome. As indeed are ones in french. So help us tell it like it *really* is, by submitting today to **STUDENT**.

Submission deadline for next issue: Jan. 13

A note regarding technical requirements:

All articles should either be typed or neatly written, double spaced between lines and with ample margins for convenient editing. Please stipulate any conditions you might have regarding the editing of content with articles of a sensitive political nature. Photos preferably should be black and white, but colour ones are fine, and have details on the back describing what/who they depict. **Artwork and cartoons** should be done in black ink on clean white paper, with the artist's signature incorporated in the design.

N.B.: Do not send in negatives of photos, and keep a copy of your articles if you want to have your material returned to you, please enclose a stamped self-addressed envelope with your submission.

Скінчився Сезон Formula 1

Нестор Гула

Еспанія

По тій трасі дуже важко переганятися тому що вона дуже покручена, хоч навіть вона не поміщена в середній місті, так як траси в Детройті, в Монте Карло і в Аделеїді (Австралія — останні перегони сезону). Спочатку сезону всі "знавці" Formula 1 думали що авто без турбо зможуть добре показати, але більшість цю думку піддали бо бачили як авто McLaren-Honda, які мають турбо, домінують цілий сезон.

В пробах найшвидші були Ayrton Senna і Alain Prost — знову авто McLaren найшвидші. Але коли почалися перегони, Nigel Mansell (Williams-Judd), котрий був з всіх третій найшвидший в пробах, хоч він немає мотора з турбо, доїхав позаду Alaina і перед Ayrton-a. Nigel і Alain їздили швидко по кількох кругах були більше ніж десять секунд попереду Ayrton-a, за котрим були скупчені Riccardo Patrese (Williams) і Ivan Capelli (Leyton House March-Judd). Ivan минув Riccardo і тоді, після кількох кругів, минув Ayrton-a. Він дуже скоро їздив, коли добився на

третє місце і доганяв тих що були на другому і першому місці. Але йому не пощастило бо на сорок п'ятому кругі його мотор згас.

Решта перегонів були менше цікаві після Ivan-a нещастя. Nigel і Alain їздили кругом, розділені такою самою віддалею майже до самого кінця. Коли обидва заїхали по нові колеса, в Alain-a їх змінили швидше і він віддался від Nigel-a. Riccardo Patrese не міг минувти Ayrton-a. Це вдалося Alessandro Nannini-ові, який здобув третє місце.

Шофери котрі скінчили і здобули п'ятки були (за порядком): Alain Prost, Nigel Mansell, Alessandro Nannini, Ayrton Senna, Riccardo Patrese і Gerhard Berger.

Японія

Ця траса має багато довгих, простих кусків дороги але також гострих закрутів. В результаті можна скоро їздити, але треба повільно і уважно їздити на закрутах.

Авто McLaren почали спереду але Ayrton Senna влучив злий біг і затримався спочатку. Він влучив

правильний біг але коли скінчив перший круг то лежав на чотирнадцятому місці. Він тоді почав гнати і переграв всіх і виграв перегон. Йому допоміг дрібний дощ, що почав крапати і він, який їде ліпше ніж його дружинник коли дощ їде, міг догнати і переграти Alain Prost-a. Тому що виграв ці перегони, Ayrton Senna набрав досить пунктів щоб виграти щорічний чемпіонат.

Це була найбільша подія цих перегонів — але не одного. Ці перегони були першими перегонами протягом останніх декілька років коли авто котре немає турбо мотора провадило перегонами. Це не було на довго, лиш на кілька секунд, але це трапилось саме там де початкова кінцева лінія знаходилася, тобто сталося офіційним — авто без турбо в першому місці. Шофером був Ivan Capelli (Leyton House March-Judd). Він знаменито провадив свою машину. Їхав пару метрів позаду Alaina і минув його на короткий час на п'ятнадцятому кругі. Але він так гнав, що мотор йому згас на двадцятим кругі. Його їзда доказує яка сильна його дружина справді є.

Дружинка Thierry Boutsen і Alessandro Nannini (Benetton-Ford) закінчили на третьому і п'ятому місцях. Посеред них опинився Gerhard Berger (Ferrari). Riccardo Patrese (Williams-Judd) закінчив на шостому місці.

Австралія

Тому що Ivan Capelli (Leyton House March-Judd) так сміло їздив в Японії, було сподівано що він закінчить на добром місці, а може навіть виграв ці перегони.

Але знов, так як кожного, окрім одного, разу цього року, авто McLaren скінчили на переді, Alain Prost на першому а Ayrton Senna на другому місці. Вони не провадили перегони шлий час, Gerhard Berger (Ferrari) минув Ayrton-a і Alain-a. Він провадив аж до часу коли він пробував минувти повільніше авто вже на другий раз і це авто його вдарило і він не закінчив перегон.

Nelson Piquet (Lotus-Honda) на зміну не смердовів і скінчив на третьому місці. Підчас перегонів за ним гнали обидва Williams, Nigel Mansell і Riccardo Patrese. Nigel-ові колеса зіпсувалися і він зїхав з траси, а його дружинник сповільняв щоб зберегти колеса і закінчив на четвертому місці. На п'ятому місці закінчив Thierry Boutsen (Benetton-Ford) котрий підчас перегонів слізнув з траси але зміг назад навестися і скінчити перегони. На шостому місці опинився Ivan Capelli (Leyton House March-Judd) який нарікав що його авто не хотіло просто їхати і порядно закручувати. Тільки семеро з двадцяти шести авто закінчили перегони.

Марудження

Це не тільки кінець сезону, це кінець епохи — коли мотори турбо були найшвидші. В наступному сезоні їх не вільно уживати і всі авто матимуть мотори з, менше-більше, такою самою силою. Це була одна з проблем з турбо моторами. Турбо мотори були дорогі — найдишевші, і найслабші кошували около вісімдесяти тисяч доларів і ці мотори ніколи не вигравали перегонів і майже в кожних перегонах згасали. Formula 1 робився дуже коштовним і багато з менших, не багатих, дружин відпадало. Тому що мотори без турбо багато дешевші, знова багато нових, менших, менше багатих дружин будуть брати участь в Formula 1.

З одної точки зору, сезон був дещо нудний але з другої можна сказати що був досить цікавий. Нудно було тому що дружина McLaren домінувала всіх в кожних перегонах. Вона виграла всі перегони окрім Італійських де Ayrton Senna, шофер який провадив цілі перегони, вїхав в повільніше авто.

Сезон був досить цікавий з двох причин. Шофери дружини McLaren-Honda, Ayrton Senna і Alain Prost, відважно "боролися" за чемпіонат протягом цілого сезону — два найліпші шофери в найліпшому авто з найшвидшими моторами. Також сезон був цікавий бо молодші шофери, Alessandro Nannini (Benetton-Ford), Ivan Capelli (Leyton House-Judd) і інші, дуже добре їхали і показали що будуть сильні в наступному сезоні.



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СТУДЕНТ

STUDENT 20th Anniversary ETUDIANT

ГАЗЕТА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СТУДЕНТСТВА КАНАДИ 50 cents CANADA'S NEWSPAPER FOR UKRAINIAN STUDENTS

The 1968 SUSK Congress, held in Montreal in May, was significant, if for one thing, for the fact that it initiated the publication of this newspaper, *STUDENT*. The first issue (July–August, 1968) appeared later that year and was edited by Roman Serbyn, who also held the position of SUSK President that year.

Since that Congress, more than twenty years ago, over one hundred issues of *STUDENT* have been published. One hundred and three if you count this issue and one special issue. On average five issues a year have been produced in *STUDENT*'s history. Unfortunately *STUDENT* has been rather inconsistent throughout its publishing history. As many as ten issues have been published in a single year. However several years have only seen one issue published. The only consistency in *STUDENT*'s history is the fact that there have never been any years when *STUDENT* did not publish.

Other consistencies in *STUDENT*'s history have been the severe shortage of finances, which periodically lead to pleading editorials for financial support, a never ending quest to have Ukrainian students from all the various regions of Canada submit articles to *STUDENT* and a constant frank discussion of issues in the Ukrainian community, the kind no other Ukrainian newspaper would print.

Unlike the festivities surrounding the Millennium, *STUDENT*'s twentieth anniversary was celebrated more modestly, only two events were planned. One was the publication of this issue, which after many turbulent months is finally completed, albeit in modified form. The second objective was to locate and compile as many complete sets of *STUDENT*'s as possible. The latter objective was perhaps the most difficult since many of the old issues have disappeared. In this respect I would like to thank Lubomyr Szuch, Marika Bandera and Bohdan Mykytiuk of the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society, and Bohdana Wilk of the St. Vladimir's Institute library in Toronto for their patience and their donations of various old issues. A final note about old issues of *STUDENT* is that I heard rumour of a complete set, up to an undetermined date in the seventies, is to be found in the British Museum. *STUDENT* did get around!

This issue, much like the special issue of *STUDENT* published in 1979 in honour of SUSK's twenty fifth anniversary, is composed of two sections. The first section is a compilation of articles written by several past editors of *STUDENT*. All the editors were contacted and invited to submit articles. Unfortunately, not all of these past editors submitted articles and consequently we are not able to present a complete picture of *STUDENT*'s history as recollected by the past editors. As well an article by former SUSK president Andrij Makuch dealing with *STUDENT*'s early years in Edmonton is featured alongside these articles.

The second section contains a selections of some articles published during the past twenty years. (The volume and issue number as well as the date of publication is given in the parentheses.) It is important to recognize that this is not a "best of *STUDENT*" selection. I believe that that kind of selection would be impossible to make while one is in the process of publishing the newspaper. As well one would have to have a good knowledge of the history of the Ukrainian Canadian students movement. In selecting the various articles I consciously tried to avoid too many repeats of articles in the SUSK twenty fifth anniversary issue and tried to avoid taking a bulk of articles from the same era. This makes the issue slightly jagged and uneven but I believe that this presents an eclectic mix which summarises the history of *STUDENT* well.

Before ending I must acknowledge that this issue would not have been published without the financial support of the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko. As well I would like to thank all the people who have in any way contributed to the publication of this issue.

Nestor Gula
Editor 1986–1988

Twentieth Anniversary of STUDENT 1968–1988

STUDENT Editors

1968	Roman Serbyn
1969	Bohdan Krawchenko
1969–70	Chrysia Chomiak
1970	Yuri Boshyk
1970–71	Zenon Zwarych
1971–72	Ira Okipniuk
	Andrij Bandera
1972–73	Halya Kuchmij
1973–74	Myroslav Shkarrij
1974–75	Anhelyn Szuch
1975–76	Lubomyr Szuch
1976–77	Bohdan Kupycz
1977–80	Nestor Makuch
1980–82	Jas Balan
1982–83	Tamara Ivanochko
1983–84	Chrysia Chudczak
1984–85	Stan Chuyko
1985–86	John Antoniow
1986–88	Nestor Gula

Bohdan Krawchenko 1969

As well as being *STUDENT* editor, he was SUSK president for the 1969-70 term. He joined the staff of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies in 1976 and became the director in 1986, a post he still holds today. He is the author of *Social Change and National Consciousness in Twentieth-Century Ukraine* (1985).



I was editor of *STUDENT* for one issue, the summer 1969 issue.

I became editor of the paper because I was hired as a summer field worker for SUSK. I had graduated from Bishop's University in the spring of 1969 and was planning to settle down for a pleasant summer in the Eastern Townships. I had a summer job lined up with the Sherbrooke Daily Record and an apartment in North Hatley. But... Roman Serbyn and Roman Petryshyn

phoned to ask me if I wanted to work for Ukrainian students as an organizer. (They used the words "organizer" and "student movement"—magic to my ears.) And so I went to Toronto (got dressed-up in a suit) for a job interview with Roman Petryshyn. I soon found out that there was a job; but no money really, and that my task was to raise funds for my salary and expenses, secure grants from the government, help organize the SUSK Congress in Vancouver and travel across the country to mobilize students. It was a great summer!

But to get back to *STUDENT*. The issue's task was to get students to attend the Vancouver Congress, and to give SUSK a new image — that of a dynamic student movement. The issue came out, the Vancouver Congress was a roaring success and it was indeed the opening page of an interesting period of student life.

Irka Stevens (Okipniuk)

1971-72

After completing a graduate degree in Soviet and East European Studies, she held several positions with financial institutions in Toronto. Presently, she is manager - Treasury Services for the Bank of Nova Scotia, New York Office. She lives in Asbury Park, New Jersey, with her husband, a classical musician.

I received a phone call late one night from the present *STUDENT* editor who opened a proverbial floodgate of memories by reminding me of one year when I had been in that position. I remember that period, from the autumn of 1971 to the summer of 1972, with fondness and pride, but my recollections were painted in "broad brush strokes" and I needed copies of back issues to fill in the details. I wasn't expecting the rush of memories to be quite so strong...

Let me now join the string of editors who believe that their year was special. On campuses in 1971/72 we were still feeling the spirit of the "60's" when university students in North America had been so active on political and social issues. We had been in our mid-teens during the most volatile times, so we still had the memories that told us that it was possible to be heard and change the course of events.

In the Ukrainian community during that time we had such a convergence of events that we were never lacking for an issue to act on, speak out on... or write about. The hard working individuals who were responsible for *STUDENT* at that time met frequently - between classes, over lunch, evenings, weekends - constantly discussing, planning and writing. Those days saw the beginnings of the Federal recognition of Multiculturalism and we were actively working on



presentations seeking to have the reality acknowledged and financially supported. We were translating our own growing awareness of the Ukrainian heritage in Canada into projects which recorded it and educated others about it. We were taking our ideas to other organizations in the Ukrainian community (and yes, we were at school full time!)

Even after seventeen years of added experiences and maturity, I still marvel at the sophisticated achievements in that year for such a young group of people...it's all there, recorded in *STUDENT*: the writings and action surrounding the plight of dissidents, the concern and discussions over Multiculturalism, the news of the successful Ukrainian Canadian Festival of Arts in Thunder Bay, the Saskatchewan Ukrainian Canadian Youth Jamboree, the technical orientation courses preceding the two years of Summer Field Work and the Field Work activities themselves ("the student as animator and community organizer") and, as they say, much, much more...

Chrystia Chomiak 1969-70

Lives in Edmonton with her two children - Mychailo 4 1/2 and Eva 21 months and her husband, John-Paul Himka. She lives in a Ukrainian language housing co-op - the Hromada Housing Cooperative - a co-op whose goal is to build a vibrant Ukrainian speaking community. She works at the Women's Program and Resource Center at the University of Alberta as a publicist and as a free-lance researcher and curator.

Photo Not Available

STUDENT is free! We don't tow anybody's line...*STUDENT* is open! We are a forum of fact and opinion. We will print all facts and anybody's opinion...*STUDENT* is communications! With students, workers, professionals, hippies. It's your newspaper, so dig it...The Ukrainian community in Canada is caught between two worlds: 'one dead, the other powerless to be born'. "The Ukrainian student movement must stand on the side of life." So read the opening sentences of my first editorial in *STUDENT* - Volume 1, Number 3, October 16, 1969, published in Toronto, Ontario. These words characterized us, the Ukrainian Canadian students' movement, which was born at the memorable Vancouver conference of August 1969. The conference was attended by Ukrainian students from across Canada, a few Quebecois students involved in the vibrant and radical Quebec students' movement, Dimitrios Roussopoulos, then as now one of Canada's leading anarchist intellectuals, representatives from a few ethnic groups and an assortment of members (all men) from the Ukrainian establishment. Here we - the Ukrainian students - met and formed a movement for change.

Our ideas were formed by the events of our time: the student radicalization that swept the world in the late 1960s; opposition to American imperialism in Vietnam and Soviet imperialism in Czechoslovakia; the emergence of a democratic opposition in Ukraine; the struggle for official bilingualism in Canada and independence for Quebec; and the struggle for recognition by what used to be known as "the other minority groups."

Like the student movement of which we were a part, the staff of *STUDENT* was a very diverse lot. We were a collection of Ukrainian hippies, princesses and princes, nationalists and anarchists, and even one non-Ukrainian (our photographer) who shared the hope of being instrumental in the change that we were sure was about to take place.

All the memories of publishing *STUDENT* during that time are inseparable from the times that spawned it. All the issues we were battling and all the projects we were undertaking in SUSK and in university centers across Canada found their way into our paper. We related facts and editorialized, with humour or with anger, but always with great passion. The newspaper kept Ukrainian Students' Clubs across Canada informed about activities taking place elsewhere, gave all a forum in which to express their views and unified us in our concerns. I look back and feel extremely proud to have been part of such a fruitful time, working with so many talented and dedicated young Ukrainians.

In the two issues of *STUDENT* that I edited we addressed that which we wanted to change - the lack of minority rights in Canada, the hold of Russian chauvinism and Soviet authoritarianism in Ukraine, the politics and practice of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine (in a hard hitting article by Professor J. Darewycz which caused a great stir when it appeared). We also wrote about what we supported - the growing opposition in Ukraine (the headline of this article optimistically proclaimed "75,000 Dissenting in Ukraine"), our desire to be included in community life on our own terms, our hopes for the development of Ukrainian culture and against its folkish trivialization ("Ukrainianism is more than Halloween. There is more to it than pyrohy, hopak and embroidery.")

In the articles that appeared on the pages of *STUDENT* we quoted from our heroes in support of our ideals: "The highest duty of man is to belong to humanity. But you can belong to humanity only through your own nation, through your own people. If your nation is in a critical situation, when its very national existence and its future are at stake - it is shameful to abandon it." (Ivan Dryuba)

"Anyone should be allowed to speak out, whoever he may be, so long as it is not a hostile element and does not make malicious attacks, and it does not matter if he says something wrong. Leaders at all levels have the duty to listen to others." (Mao Tse Tung)

This last quote, taken from an article by George Boshyk, also caused a great deal of gnashing of teeth when it appeared. Today I am embarrassed that we should have defended such a narrow and authoritarian position on freedom of speech.

There are three things that strike me most about the issues that I edited. On the positive side were our idealism and our painful, at times awkward, struggle to speak out honestly. On the negative side was our blindness on the women's question - of the ten people who worked on *STUDENT* six were women, almost all of whom worked as typists. Moreover, we never discussed, even superficially, the role of women either in our milieu or community. In retrospect my main contribution to *STUDENT* was the assembling of an editorial board that met, discussed and planned issues together and democratically established an open editorial policy. Both this structure and this policy continued for a number of years.



(v1 n3, October 1969)

Halya Kuchmij 1972-73

Is a television producer with CBC's "Man Alive" program. Her past credits include being a producer for CBC's "The Journal" and several award winning documentaries among which are "The Strongest Man in the World" and "Streetcar", a drama which won her an award while she was still enrolled in York University's Film and Video program.

There is a photograph that I've saved for the past sixteen years. It was taken in the summer of 1972, in someone's house in the west end of Toronto. We'd gathered there for a communal portrait, eleven or twelve members of Video-SUSK, dressed in our pseudo-Ukrainian hippie garb, traditional embroidered shirts over bell bottomed jeans, long hair parted in the middle. If you glance at pictures of the early seventies, you'd recognize the look.



lot of energy. Occasionally we'd carry on the discussions at the old then. In retrospect, looking at the Porretto's, where Mama Porretto photo, we did look pretty cool for would serve veal sandwiches for 60 that time and place. The faces seem crazy. STUDENT was a constant amazingly open, idealistic and worry, day and night - the incessant confident (in itself a very non-begging for articles, last-minute Ukrainian characteristic). We were layouts, pleading for ads, running to on the leading edge, "hip" the printers to get an issue out in Ukrainian-Canadians who had time for SUSK congress, trying to integrated ethnic with mainstream; stall the bill collectors (the thankless maple syrup with varenyky, job of Don Sadoway). Looking ethnofusion long before it was through those back issues now, a fashionable to be other than English decade and a half later, I can or French, multicultural before honestly say that we did a good job. Trudeau legitimized the word. Some I'm still impressed by the quality of my "hip" colleagues from those and variety of articles and graphics. "glory" days were Andrij Semotiuk, Not bad. And the best thing of all it Irka Okipniuk, Bohdan Sirant, was fun.

Marko Bojczun, Olenka Demianchuk, Ivan Pecan, etc. Even then the names were not John, Andrew, Irene or Helen.

We gathered together at 67 Harbord Street, then the headquarters of SUSK and STUDENT. A tiny little cubbyhole of an office that rented for \$90 monthly, it was constantly crammed with books, files, typewriters and people. The phone rang constantly. There were alot of arguments, discussions. Should SUSK be more political or more cultural? Left or right? Ukrainian or Canadian? There was

Myroslav Shkandrij 1973-74

Was born in England but completed his studies at the University of Toronto, a M.A. and a Ph.D in Slavic Literature. Currently he is an associate professor at the University of Manitoba and lives in Winnipeg with his wife Natalia and their child Alexandra.



Looking back on it, 1973-74 may too much for some - who wrote us have been STUDENT at its most off as communists, or fools - but the pugilistic. The imagined opposition was the reactionary who thought long-hair, agnosticism and inter-ethnic dating were bolshevik. The arena - young minds and hearts. The issues ... well, there were plenty: the lack of democracy in the community's political organizations, socialism, feminism and nationalism. We did a lot of reading in the "isms" during those days, and still more analysing of mass movements and historic revolts. Perhaps that's why history - in the guise of Makhno, Shevchenko, UPA and Stetsko - all received a reinterpretation.

But if history weighed heavily upon us, so did the Zeitgeist: student radicalism, the counter-culture and Trotsky worked in defence of Soviet political prisoners and a free and independent Ukraine. The brew was

something" range - doctors, lawyers, media moguls (Hi Pecan), stockbrokers, writers, professors, etc. We are now the Establishment, sitting on boards and chairs of study, giving money to students when nostalgia and guilt rear their ugly heads, writing letters of recommendation to the Secretary of State. Sometimes we meet at Ukrainian functions and sometimes we talk about the past, the "good ole days". Often, as not, we forget or pretend it never happened. But it did. And I have the proof. A sixteen year old photograph I'm going to keep on saving.

too much for some - who wrote us off as communists, or fools - but the intellectual debate was stimulating and enriching and the aggressive, activist pose is something I still wish STUDENT had more of. We tried to run with ideas in those days, and if people didn't listen, we hit them over the head with an article. That's how I now see our attempt to decanonize Stetsko and his "church", our article on "integral nationalism", our feminist column by Dolly Komar (Chrystia Chomiak), our entry of Roman Semenovich (a male) in *raut presy* (a beauty pageant for females) and other nose-thumbing. Maybe they were not all "firsts" for the Ukrainian community, but we certainly felt as though they were.

Of course, it wasn't all taboo-breaking. We published Borys Kornienko's poetry (the first to do so in the west), popularized Soroka's graphics, praised contemporary writing in Ukraine, and insisted on the need for the defence of a placid paradise of folklore and tradition; it was closer to a modernist tableau - angst-ridden and full of the terrible beauty Yeats wrote about in connection with the politics of Ireland.

Myroslav Yurkewycz was invaluable as a fellow-editor. His unrepentant "Liberalism" and wry humour provided welcome counterpoint. Roman Goyaniuk would drop in after an evening of reciting Maiakovsky to the waves on

Harbourpoint. Sophia Yurkewycz produced wonderful cartoons at short notice. Natalka and Chrystia Chomiak provided feminist ideas. Marko Bojczun, Roman Petryshyn, Ihor Petelycky, Roman Senkus, Andrii Semotiuk, Myron Spolsky, Liubko and Anhelyna Szuch, and many others would help during those endless evenings of layout where everything was discussed. The British artist Hluko (I think that's his name) made the Hutsul-carving logo that is still used now.

The distribution network expanded to Britain (which is where I'm from), the Soviet embassy in Ottawa and the *runvisty* took out subscriptions. The readership, as I have since discovered, included academics, credit-union managers, professionals and priests. It's tough being radical in a community like ours! It was even read by OUN(b) heavies who devoted *Homln Ukralny* editorials to us written in vitriol. This not only made fund-raising in Toronto difficult - trips for Sunday lunch to my uncle's became downright dangerous.

On a personal level, in this my second year in Canada I learned a lot. About everything. And the lessons have stood me in good stead. I hope my colleagues on the paper look back on that year as fondly as I do.

МАТИ-
УКРАЇНА

(v7 n28, February 1974)

СТЕЦЬКО

ЛІВЦЬКИЙ



NATIONALISM



Starting at front, clockwise: P. Melnycky, B. Kowalsky, N. Myhal, M. Bojczun, Y. Tarnawsky, I. Okipniuk, C. Laptuta, D. Porochlwny, H. Kuchmij (center: I. Petelycky, I. Pecan)

Is a policy analyst for the Ministry of Community and Social Services where she develops social policies for disadvantaged groups, most recently the developmentally handicapped and physically disabled. She obtained a BA in history from York University and completed a Master of Arts of Political Science at the University of Alberta.

Our next challenge was to overcome the "conflict" between culture and politics. Initially, our collective was divided between those who preferred to publish articles dealing with aspects of Ukrainian Canadian culture, and those who viewed STUDENT's priority to be the confrontation of politically sensitive issues.

In order to resolve this conflict, we were forced to assimilate a serious analysis of Ukraine's past as well as the current situation in Ukraine. This brought about numerous heated debates about all sorts of things. Our collective was not as politicized as the previous

Being a part of the STUDENT "old guard" because most of us did editorial collective in 1974-75 not fully experience the anti-war proved to be a very exciting and movement of the 1960s (I was 14 challenging experience. Many years old in 1968). Nevertheless, in battles were fought that year, and many ways STUDENT continued the awful lot was learned. previous tradition of confronting the

Most of the collective, like myself, came out of the nationalist community having had no previous involvement in SUSK. Our group had almost no continuity with the previous year's editorial board. Although the last of the "old guard" exited SUSK the previous year, their intellectual vibrancy and radicalism had a lasting effect on us.

Our first challenge as a group was learning to function as a democratic collective. This entailed shedding the quasi-authoritarian modes of thinking which many nationalist youths inherit. Learning to share ideas in open discussions was a necessity to our group's existence.

It was a difficult year but well worth all the enlightening experiences.



(v14 n75, January 1982)

Upon completing his term as editor in 1980, he moved to Toronto to study law at Osgoode Hall Law School. Since 1983 he has practiced law with the firm of Wheatley Sadownik in Edmonton. He resides there with his spouse, Sonia Maryn, and their daughter, Natalia.

In August 1977, a group of us Edmonton USC stalwarts motored down to Vancouver for the annual SUSK Congress, expecting really little more than spectacular West Coast scenery and a good time. Sure, there had been some talk about bringing STUDENT to Edmonton, but nothing specific had surfaced. By the end of the congress, my brother Andrij had been elected SUSK president, and I had been given the task of STUDENT editor-in-chief. Leaving Vancouver, we turned to each other, shook our heads, and said, "What have we done now!"

The next year was one of the most hectic of my life. Both STUDENT and SUSK had been centered in Toronto forever and had simply run out of steam. The few activists left were burned out and eager to hand the ball to a fresh group. In 1976-1977, Student had appeared but once. A slim second issue, printed days before the congress, was hastily collated and distributed at the congress itself. The congress, concerned about STUDENT's very existence, resolved that the newspaper would be a priority for SUSK in the coming year and that at least four issues would be published.

During informal post-congress meetings with SUSK-ites in Edmonton, I optimistically announced that STUDENT would be published on a monthly basis. If the newspaper was truly to serve as a vehicle of communication among Ukrainian-Canadian students, it had to appear frequently and regularly. My announcement was met with scarcely concealed disbelief fortified with sceptical enthusiasm:

"That's great -- when's the first issue coming out?"

"Within a month," I replied.

"Well, good luck."

The only problem was that nobody among the SUSK people in Edmonton really knew anything about putting out a newspaper. There was no overlap with the previous STUDENT crowd -- nobody to learn the ropes from. We were all quite green. And we had no money.

Yet by the first days of October, the first "Edmonton" STUDENT had been published. I had scoured U of A's cafeterias and beer halls, cajoling their often reluctant denizens into becoming staff members. SUSK gave us some seed money. We dredged up some articles and spent many all-night sessions trying to transform them into something resembling a newspaper. Without the yeoman efforts of the small crew we assembled, and Yuri Stebelsky and Bohdan Chomiak in particular, we never would have made it.

But we did. And by the 1978 SUSK Congress, 10 issues had appeared. (Student had never appeared as frequently as it did that year, and it hasn't since. The encouragement and support, both

s moral and financial, given by SUSK
d under Andrij Makuch's leadership
y was clearly significant in this
achievement.) By the time I left
t Edmonton for Toronto in August
1980, we had published a total of 26
t regular issues plus a special SUSK
Twenty-fifth Anniversary Issue --
s more than 40 per cent of all the
issues of STUDENT that had ever
been published to that date.

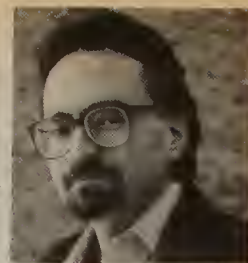
It was, however, far from easy, and we made our share of mistakes. The first issue (Vol. 10, No. 39) turned out to be little more than a sea of print with few graphics and photographs. The articles were interesting but long. The layout was horrible. We took our share of criticism and built on our meager experience. The second issue was much livelier and better received. Encouraged, we added more features, regular columns, colour, more varied and original graphics (thanks to our resident but evasive artist, Roman Oleksij), a spicier mix of political and cultural articles, and a redesigned format. Perhaps the most popular change we made was the introduction of a bona fide gossip

column, the KGB (which, it can now be revealed, stands for *Komitet Generalnogo Bazikannia*). The column became astoundingly widespread in both its readership and sources of "information."

Amazingly enough, we never had a serious difficulty in either generating enough articles or raising the money necessary to publish on a regular basis. After the first issue was printed, I recall worrying about when we could publish another one — all our available articles and funds had gone into the first issue. Yet, somehow we managed. The newspaper seemed to generate its own momentum. The more we published, the more articles we seemed to have and the easier it seemed to be to raise the all-important cash. I'm not going to say it was easy to raise money — it wasn't, and we seemed to be down to our last pennies almost every month. Yet the money continued to appear — from subscriptions, donations from

supporters, advertisements, fund-raising socials, SUSK, club contributions, and even bottle drives.

One of the most difficult problems we did face was obtaining significant input from centers other than Edmonton. This had been a perennial problem with **STUDENT** which always seemed to develop a dynamic within its publishing city but not beyond. Despite our efforts to counter this difficulty by having associate editors located in other cities, the input from other centers was abysmal for the first two years of my involvement (and believe me it was not from lack of trying). It was not until the Toronto USC was revitalized under the leadership of Michael Maryn in 1979-1980 that we finally saw another city playing a significant role in generating both articles and money for the



newspaper. Much of the credit for this breakthrough has to be given to Sonia Maryn, who did everything from writing articles and club news to selling STUDENT at concerts, soliciting advertisements, and defending the newspaper against its often vociferous detractors in Toronto.

Throughout the years I was involved with it, STUDENT matured or evolved to greater independence from SUSK. The newspaper was formally a part of the SUSK constitution, and, in the past, had always been merely one of SUSK's activities. But through increasing publication, beginning with 1977, STUDENT quickly became one of SUSK's major activities. The associated "growing pains" manifested themselves in STUDENT's association with the general Canadian student press and in its desire for formal "independence" from SUSK.

column, the KGB which, it can now be revealed, stands for *Komitet Generalnoho Bazikannia*). The University Press (CUP), the Canada-column became an astonishingly wide association of campus widespread in both its readership and newspapers. We wanted to be sources of "information," recognized as a legitimate component of the general Canadian serious difficulty in either generating student press. And we wanted access enough articles or raising the money to CUP's advertising network. CUP necessary to publish on a regular basis. After the first issue was printed, I recall worrying about all our available articles and funds had gone into the first issue. Yet somehow we managed. The newspaper seemed to generate its own momentum. The more we published, the more articles seemed to have and the easier it seemed to be to raise the important cash. I'm not going to say it was easy to raise money -- wasn't, and we seemed to be down our last pennies almost every month. Yet the money continued to appear -- from subscriptions, donations --

supporters, advertisements, fund-raising socials, SUSK, club contributions, and even bottle drives. Part of the mating rituals with CUP involved a discussion of STUDENT's relationship with

One of the most difficult problems we did face was obtaining significant input from centers other than Edmonton. This had been a perennial problem with which always seemed to develop a dynamic within its publishing city but not beyond. Despite our efforts to counter this difficulty by having associate editors located in other cities, the input from other centers was abysmal for the first two years of my involvement (and believe me it was not from lack of trying). It was not until the Toronto newspaper was revitalized under the leadership of Michael Maryn in 1979-1980 that we finally saw another city playing a significant role in generating both articles and money for the autonomy and continued to support

STUDENT despite policy differences which arose from time to time. Student was never a passive organ of the SUSK administration. Because the newspaper's primary responsibility was to its readership, it always regarded itself as free to criticise SUSK. This principle of editorial autonomy, already firmly established by my term as editor, became a cause celebre in later years during the so-called "postergate" affair in 1981. Unfortunately, the "principle" simply became a convenient cloak for what was more properly a personality clash with the then SUSK president, and the affair was blown completely out of proportion to its significance.

A resolution granting **STUDENT** its formal "independence" was supported by the SUSK executive at the 1979 Congress in Montreal. However, the motion was hotly debated by the congress delegates and initially defeated. Upon a motion to reconsider, the resolution was passed. **STUDENT** became formally what it had always been — an independent student newspaper. The details of its own constitution, however, remained to be worked out.

The Student constitution came to reflect developments that had occurred on the newspaper during 1979-1980. This was the amorphous "collective". Throughout my second term as editor (1978-1979) I had been searching for somebody who would be willing to take on the editorship for the following year. Nobody was willing to assume the responsibility. However, everybody was willing to continue working on select tasks. Hence, the "collective". Everybody would share the responsibility and work in harmony and unison to continue publishing the newspaper. With no alternative,

it seemed like a good idea at the time (since I did not plan to be editor forever).

In retrospect, however, it appears the "collective" was little more than a naive utopian exercise. Rather than embodying responsibility, it became a flight from responsibility. The "collective" was in charge, meaning everybody but nobody. It allowed individuals to make statements in the name of the collective in order to magnify the credibility of personal opinions. It was, in my opinion, a false start and the beginning of the decline of **STUDENT** in Edmonton. While the form of the newspaper's organization was changed into a "collective," the content wasn't. There were always dominant individuals involved who exercised disproportionate influence in decision making, and eventually this came to be resented by the mere workers. The revolution failed. **STUDENT** has always functioned best with an effective editor-in-chief who has the ultimate responsibility for the operation, and it should return to that format.

In conclusion, I would wholeheartedly encourage anybody so inclined to take on the editorship of **STUDENT**. In my experience, it is an extremely stimulating position which allows one to keep abreast of community activities and contribute in a material way to constructive debate within that community. For prospective editors, I offer the following counsel:

1) Anybody can do it. You don't need formal training, and you don't even need previous experience. You can easily learn the basics. From there, trial and error and learning from your mistakes will serve you well. Remember, nothing ventured

nothing gained. If you wait until you have the "perfect" product, you'll never publish a single issue;

2) Frequency and regularity are more important than bulk. Set yourself a publishing schedule and try to stick by it. Knowing when the next issue is due will help to organize your efforts. If you only have a 4 page issue, publish it. Don't wait for more if you have no immediate prospects for more.

3) Have a multi-faceted fund-raising strategy. The more sources of income you have, the greater the likelihood you will have enough money to publish. If you become too reliant on any one source, you will eventually suffer. Always remember your goal is to publish the newspaper. If you don't publish, you'll never raise money. If you publish regularly, the money will eventually materialize;

4) Maintain an open-forum for discussion from all points of view. Once the newspaper becomes the platform for a single viewpoint, it will inevitably lose support within the community;

5) Organization, dedication, diligence, common sense and plain old fashioned hard work will serve you well.

While the tasks involved in publishing **STUDENT** are often arduous and thankless, they are by no means impossible. The rewards may be intangible, but they are worthwhile. If you're considering getting involved, do it. You won't regret it.

Pseudonym Expose 1977-1980

The "innocent" have been protected long enough! During the years 1977-1980 (and even before and beyond), Student published articles written under pseudonyms. While there may have been legitimate reasons for doing so at the time, history demands that the authors' true names be revealed for posterity. The following is a guide to most of the pseudonyms that appeared from 1977 to 1980. (The dates refer to the first appearance of the pseudonym.)

PSEUDONYM

AUTHOR

1977-1978

Zorjan Hromjak
Vera Dumyn
Mykola Khyshcheych
Alex Tymofienko
Ivan Pankevych
Pan Professor
A Traditionalist
Stefan Semykivsky
L.I.
Tamara Tkachuk
Alex Marunchak
J. Strybunetz
Bohdan Martinek
Ivan Khilivchanyan
T.T.
Orest Dorundiak
Borys Kamyanyetsky

Yarema Kowalchuk
Anhelyna Szuch
Taras Pawlyshyn
David Lupul
Myron Spolsky
Andriy Horniatkevych
John-Paul Himka
Ivan Jaworsky
Ivan Jaworsky
Natalka Chomiak
Bohdan Somchynsky
Bohdan Chomiak
Bohdan Somchynsky
John-Paul Himka
Natalka Chomiak
Ivan Jaworsky
Dmytro Jacuta

1978-1979

Walter Tymofienko
Christine Baran
Hrehory Kwass

Andrij Makuch
Christine Burdeniuk
Jars Balan

1979-1980

Mathew Tymofienko
Bedwyn Sands
A L'bo
Yak
Boris Dmytrovich
O L'bo

Nestor Makuch
Sonia Maryn
Roman Onufriehuk
Dmytro Jacuta
Boris Radio
Sonia Maryn

Jars Balan 1980-82

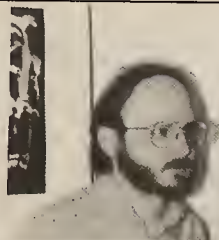
Was born in Toronto and educated at the Universities of Toronto (BA) and Alberta (MA). A freelance writer, he has published numerous articles and *Salt and Braided Bread*, a popular book on Ukrainians in Canada. His real love, however, is concrete poetry, a literary form combining words and visual images. Currently he is a visiting lecturer in Ukrainian studies at Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia.

I initially got more directly involved in **STUDENT** when it was proved to be justified and I revived in Edmonton in the fall of 1977 under the editorship of Nestor **STUDENT** with each passing issue. Makuch. While I had earlier Beginning as a contributor, I was submitted some poems during my gradually drawn into other aspects of undergraduate years at the University of Toronto, my involvement with the articles, initiating columns and working staff at that time was participating in the evolution of the essentially social.

In Edmonton the newspaper was at first produced out of the Volodymyr Koskovych co-operative house, where a bunch of us community-minded activists (some students, some not) lived and partied together in the late seventies and early eighties. I can remember resisting taking on any concrete responsibilities with **STUDENT**, because I was afraid that it might distract me from my other literary interests. Since I was already determined to pursue a career as a professional writer, I knew the allure of having direct access to print, especially such a wide-open vehicle as a student newspaper.

Needless to say, my misgivings involved in **STUDENT** when it was proved to be justified and I revived in Edmonton in the fall of 1977 under the editorship of Nestor **STUDENT** with each passing issue. Makuch. While I had earlier Beginning as a contributor, I was submitted some poems during my gradually drawn into other aspects of undergraduate years at the University of Toronto, my involvement with the articles, initiating columns and working staff at that time was participating in the evolution of the essentially social.

Thus, I was at least partly equipped to handle the technical editing of the paper (i.e., preparing articles for typesetting) when Nestor Makuch left Edmonton to study law in Toronto. The position of editor-in-chief had by then been abandoned in favour of a co-ordinating committee of four people who



oversaw the areas of content, production, distribution and finance. Mark Ferbey was designated as the chairperson of this body, ensuring its smooth functioning while fulfilling his other duties as head of distribution. However, ultimate authority was formally vested in the meetings of the entire collective, held regularly before the preparation of each issue.

This re-structuring was both modified and ratified at the Annual Meeting of the Kvass Publishing Society in the summer of 1981. While the new administrative approach was useful in terms of theoretically defining the tasks of committee heads, in practice there was a lot of overlap in the way things got done. During the period 1980-1982 the real "motor" of **STUDENT** was a triumvirate comprised of Mark Ferbey, Paul Teterenko (who wasn't even a student!), and myself, the Finance portfolio being the weak and

often missing link in this performing mundane chores. We bureaucratic arrangement. Of the three people who served as treasurers our portfolios in the mid-winter of 1981-2, when the co-ordinating committee was enlarged by two reenlistments.

Mark Ferbey essentially supervised the printing of the paper, were also reluctant recruits, but felt it would be a shame to simply let the paper die when it was obvious that it still had so much potential for growth and improvement. While we all had official titles, they meant very little, since the work was never divided along strictly bureaucratic lines. Each of us did whatever we were capable of and whatever was necessary, be it writing articles, proofreading, raising money, or

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Koskovych House as it looks now, with the front slightly remodeled.

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desperate. In these efforts we were aided by a fluctuating band of staffers, who formed the broader working collective of STUDENT.

However, the unfortunate reality was that much of the old initiative group was burned out by the summer of 1980, when there was a raft of "retirements" without a corresponding influx of new blood. Several key individuals were entering Professional Faculties or Graduate School, and felt that they couldn't really maintain their former level of commitment. Consequently, for the last two Edmonton years the burden of carrying STUDENT was borne largely by three weary idealists. That all of us were products of the Selo Cultural Immersion Camp run by CYMK is, I think, noteworthy, since it meant that we had a common bond and shared a similar vision of community development. In fact, a small army of Selo regulars contributed to STUDENT, and had a profound impact on its increasingly cultural orientation.

Getting people to work—sessions and meetings was to become a nagging problem, as was raising money to keep the operation afloat. We basically survived from month-to-month, crisis-to-crisis, often teetering on the brink of bankruptcy. Regardless, we somehow managed to stay solvent through a combination of advertising revenue, generous donations (including our annual grant from SUSK), and a couple of successful fundraising socials. The "St. Nicholas Day Stomp" and "Cossack Howl" were two such ventures that helped to keep us going. A major milestone was reached when we received our first national ads from the CUP

now included the Soviet embassy in Ottawa, Canadian External Affairs, and the US State Department) and at the same time farmed out the distribution to a professional company. The latter was becoming a tremendous headache because of the amount of tedious labelling and sorting required, and the lack of volunteers to perform this onerous job. Often the paper would sit in our offices for several weeks after coming from the printer, because of our inability to get it ready for posting in accordance with the myriad stipulations of our Second Class permit.

In the summer of 1981 STUDENT moved from its 95th Street location to a suite of offices in the King's College complex on 97th Street and 107 Avenue. The increased space gave us room to sprawl, and provided an excellent facility for parties and all-night work bees — both of which sometimes coincided. Ferbey, Teterenko, Sembaliuk and myself, spent many long and mostly enjoyable hours at the King's College hang-out, which served as a kind of informal club-house for a still larger circle of people. It was even the focal point of a half-hour video, "Smaller than Life," shot with the participation of several STUDENT activists.

While it was never difficult to get people to come out for a good time, it was increasingly harder to motivate the old hands and to interest potential recruits. The only staffing area where we were able to make progress was in the realm of attracting contributors, the relative consistency and quality of the paper ensuring that a steady stream of articles began to come in from all quarters.

The introduction of a classical music review (*Konsert Meister*) and the expansion of our dance coverage

politics in Eastern Europe, its unflinching support for the dissident movement, and its unmistakably anti-Soviet bias. Running a full-page Conservative Party ad; an interview with a Liberal Minister of Multiculturalism; and several editorials by students with impeccable mainstream credentials, failed to dispel STUDENT's popular image as a fount of left-wing propaganda. In reality its pages embraced a spectrum of political viewpoints, in keeping with its mandate as a forum and not a party rag.



STUDENT offices, King's College location. The Building is a former hotel and student residence. In the old days a tavern was located on the first floor. The STUDENT offices were on the second.

Part of the problem plaguing STUDENT stemmed from the fact that the local USC had lost much of its former vigor, student activism then being in general decline throughout the country. It is also true that STUDENT was losing its novelty and sex appeal, Edmontonians were becoming rather complacent in their attitude towards it. The ever-dwindling list in the staff box provides mute testimony to this quiet process of erosion. The malaise was reflected in the fewer number of issues that were produced from September 1980 to May 1982 (14 in all, slightly down from the previous two years). STUDENT was obviously struggling to survive, in my despite the gains it was still making on several fronts.

A particularly insidious problem was that the paper was slowly becoming a political football for people not directly involved in its publication. Ironically this development was partly a product of STUDENT's own success: its influence within and without the Ukrainian community made it both an attractive vehicle for ideas, and a popular target of abuse by arm-chair editors. It was easy to find fault with STUDENT, but few were willing to roll-up their sleeves and do something about it. Indeed, the years 1980-1982 must be viewed as a period of grace for the paper, which had its life artificially extended after its prospects seemed tenuous at the end of the Makuch era.

An important landmark was reached with the infamous STUDENT-SUSK executive showdown in the winter of 1981-1982, when the 'Postergate' scandal erupted around President Mike Maryn. Underlying the tensions between the two parties was a fundamental difference in philosophy, with the Studentniks standing for the principle of editorial autonomy (to which the paper was bound as a member of CUP), and some members of the executive

wanting it to serve as a mere mouthpiece for the SUSK leadership. For all the passions the clash aroused it marked something of a high point in the history of STUDENT's Edmonton Years, for it drew a record number of people to the pre-publication meeting to discuss our handling of the conflict. In the end, the coverage reflected a consensus of opinion reached through democratic discussion, though all the sudden interest in STUDENT evaporated overnight once the drama had climaxed. The affair was in essence a declaration of editorial inde-

confrontation because I felt that it was unnecessary and potentially harmful, proposing instead that we attempt to amicably resolve any differences in a one-on-one encounter. However, the malcontent insisted on having it out with me in a meeting, which dragged out over two nights and attracted some new spectators eager to witness a "cock-fight".

I use the term advisedly, as I believed then, and still believe now, that much of the unhealthy "politics" around STUDENT in its late Edmonton years had more to do with macho posturing than it did with any serious ideological differences. Tensions reached such a point during the second session that I was physically assaulted by my accuser after defending myself against his verbal attacks of the previous evening. The altercation led to an expansion of the coordinating committee but the situation remained basically unchanged, with the same people continuing to shoulder the lion's share of the labour despite the re-enlistments. While the air briefly cleared after this incident the machinations behind the scenes resumed in the new year, when a second attempt was made to drive me from office in a kind of game of "king of the castle".

In the end, I was forced to quit my position in a coup that was cynically engineered by outsiders. Although I stepped aside peacefully, as I was secretly glad to be rid of all the hassles, I had grave doubts about the motives of the mutineers and their ability to keep the paper going. As it turned out, my fears were well-founded and the group that seized control was incapable of publishing a single issue on their own. Through a mutual agreement I did most of the work preparing the May 1982 STUDENT, which was to be my swan song and parting "gift" as content editor. But even then, my efforts were maliciously sabotaged when my editorial and a second article commissioned by me were arbitrarily suppressed by two of the conspirators in what was jokingly dubbed the, "gang of four". Although they had often accused me of undemocratic behaviour (without ever providing a single shred of evidence to back their slurs), the two self appointed censors did not bother to consult with the members of the co-ordinating committee or the working collective in making their decision.

It seems obvious that the instigators of the spring 1982 revolt ultimately believed that STUDENT was better dead than read. For they not only failed to keep the paper alive through the summer, but did nothing to assist in its subsequent move to Toronto. I ended up having to take charge of delivering the layout materials, while Teterenko and Ferbey dismantled the office. It was a sad conclusion to what had been a "golden age" in the history of the Ukrainian student press in Canada.

Still, I have absolutely no regrets about my time working on STUDENT, including my two-year stint as content editor. It was a wonderful place to learn and hone my journalistic skills, and to broaden my understanding of the Ukrainian-Canadian community. Not only that,



STUDENT offices at a plaza on the corner of 118 Ave. and 95 St. Edmonton. They were located on the second floor at the back of the building.

advertising service in the fall of 1981, when we earned the distinction of running what must be the only condom promotions to ever appear in the Ukrainian emigre press. This development was the fruit of many years of patient lobbying and our membership in the Canadian University Press.

Under the skillful hands of Messrs. Teterenko and Ferbey, the layout and graphic design of STUDENT continued to evolve towards greater sophistication. When cartoonist Roman Oleksii departed Edmonton for greener pastures, his shoes were capably filled by Myron Sembaliuk, who left his distinct imprint on the paper in its last two years in Western Canada. A very important achievement was that we finally computerized our burgeoning list of subscribers (which

appreciably enhanced our cultural reporting, the latter being a calculated move — ultimately successful — to win readers in the major Ukrainian dance groups. "Bloc Notes" and "Studentiska Khronika" were other innovative features inaugurated in the era of the triumvirate, indicating that STUDENT was not yet a spent force despite its many difficulties. A feature piece on *konopli*; several articles by Myrna Kostash; an interview with Tatiana Mamonova, and literary works by Ray Serwylo and Andy Suknaski, were among the more memorable "scoops" that kept the paper stimulating and maintained its reputation for being original.

Interestingly, STUDENT remained notorious as a hot-bed of Bolshevism, notwithstanding its extensive treatment of oppositional

Chrystia Chudeczak 1983-84

Has completed a Master of Arts degree in Public Administration at Carleton University and is currently enrolled in a M.B.A. program at the University of Ottawa. She has been active in the development of the UCC's Parliamentary Internship program.

As **STUDENT** approaches its 20th anniversary representing the alternative voice of Ukrainian Canadian students I believe that our extended collective during the 1983-1984 editorial year is proud to have been associated with **STUDENT**'s history.

The 1983-1984 year in **STUDENT**'s history was unique and challenging for those individuals who committed time, effort and money in an attempt to continue the tradition of **STUDENT**. 1983-1984 was a watershed. It was the first time that **STUDENT** was published in Ottawa. It was also the first time, in recent history of the Ukrainian student movement, that **STUDENT** was published in Winnipeg. It is this significant link between East and West which helped to bridge the gap between traditional regional cleavages within our microcosmic student community; a gap which continues to manifest itself within the broader Ukrainian Canadian community.

In many ways, the 1983-1984 editorial year was not unlike any other **STUDENT** year. Apathy continued to reign prominent within the student community and whole, we lacked several key skills **STUDENT** was no exception, which inhibited the successful Pockets of Ukrainian Canadian publication of the type of newspaper student activism across Canada we envisioned. Efforts were made to continue to exist often in isolation overcome these weak areas by from one another and from the central Executive body of the Ukrainian Canadian Student's Union also made to utilize available (SUSK). Financial support was virtually non-existent. But in other respects, **STUDENT** in 1983-1984 was different. It is these differences which make this particular year memorable for those of us who made a commitment in pursuit of the principles rooted in the ethos of **STUDENT**.

I suppose that my personal involvement with the paper began not unlike many other **STUDENT** or SUSK-ites. During the 1983 Ottawa SUSK Congress I was co-opted into the position of interim editor as SUSK's National Executive Vice-President. My responsibilities within SUSK lay primarily in the revitalization of **STUDENT**. As with any other SUSK Project, I was left with a short list of potential contacts and no financial backing. However, the co-optation was not without my own doing or consent. I saw a challenge worth pursuing, a view shared by several individuals within the Ottawa area and the entire SUSK congress. It was this integral view that permeated the following twelve months which continued to motivate collective members during the bleakest of times.

It was usually a lot of fun, as is evident in the frequently irreverent tone of the paper. I think everyone who was in some way associated with **STUDENT** during its Edmonton renaissance can take pleasure and pride with what was achieved under the often adverse circumstances of its existence.

The **STUDENT** challenge represented various ideals to members of the extended collective during the year. These ideals, engrained within the attitudes of collective members, were by no means homogeneous or static. They continued to develop and grow as the collective matured. The major challenge rested in producing a regular, cost-efficient newspaper which would explore current issues influencing the lives of Ukrainian Canadian students and the broader Ukrainian community in Canada. Another challenge rested in ensuring that the public received **STUDENT** quickly and efficiently. A further challenge rested in designing a paper which reflected the time period 1983-1984 **STUDENT** year.

Personal challenges were evident as the collective coalesced into a tight-knit group. Individuals developed specific areas of interest and later, levels of expertise. Moreover, the Ottawa collective was continued in its realization that as a student community and whole, we lacked several key skills which inhibited the successful Pockets of Ukrainian Canadian publication of the type of newspaper student activism across Canada we envisioned. Efforts were made to continue to exist often in isolation overcome these weak areas by importing individuals into Ottawa to help with publication. Efforts were also made to utilize available resources in Ottawa, particularly on Parliament Hill, to ensure that **STUDENT** would survive.

My recollection of the **STUDENT** days in Ottawa is primarily filled with snapshots of various days and events which reflect the dedication of the collective and which mirror the sociopolitical environment within Ottawa. The first edition of **STUDENT** is remembered as a three-day affair esconced in the SUSK office at Carleton University. Collective members Patricia Yaremchuk, (a then-neophyte in production and layout), Stan Chuyko and Taras Myhal, (masters in



headline 'one-liners'), Mykhailo Bociurkiw, (distribution by the Government of Canada), Torontonian Wally Krasilowecz (production par excellence) and myself struggled to produce the inaugural Ottawa edition under conditions of extreme stress and Moskovskaya. While the locks were being changed on the SUSK office door as the university students' council prepared to evict 'those Ukrainians', **STUDENT** began to take shape and develop a distinct Ottawa flavour.

The issues which manifested themselves on the pages of that first **STUDENT**, reflected both the changing attitudes of Ukrainian students to the environment surrounding daily life and also reflected traditional issues deserving of discussion and attention. The debate over French language entrenchment in Manitoba and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee's failure to publicly support bilingualism within that province during the October 1983 UCC Congress were splashed across the pages of **STUDENT**, as was the continuing saga of CeSUS (the Central Union of Ukrainian Students), national Ukrainian Students' Month in Canada and the regular Bloc Notes and KGB File. New columns were added to allow for the expression of concerns: A Shot of Stoliczhyna (Taras Myhal) and the Jaundiced Eye; along with book, movie and theatre reviews. In an effort to signal the arrival of the new **STUDENT** a decision was made to re-design the masthead with a contemporary flavour.

In retrospect, the first Ottawa **STUDENT** represented a milestone for the collective. The solicitation for financial backing, supported by the UCDC (Manitoba), was successful and provided the collective with the impetus to continue publishing. As the last boxes of **STUDENT** were dumped

unceremoniously in the Bociurkiw garage, we were relieved that, at least, a fragile infrastructure was in place for future editions.

The major task facing the Ottawa collective was the publication of the second edition. Regularity of publication was a motivating challenge. In an effort to demonstrate to subscribers that **STUDENT** was not a 'one-shot deal', planning for the second edition began as the first **STUDENT** was being distributed from the confines of an undisclosed source. Suffice it to say, every Member of Parliament received a hand-delivered copy, as did the Soviet Embassy.

The politicization of **STUDENT** was inevitable given its location within the Nation's Capital. Access to resources unavailable to other **STUDENT** collectives and access to key political decision-makers and events enabled the collective to penetrate previously untapped areas, thereby providing a unique Ukrainian Canadian perspective. **STUDENT** representatives were present at political events which were not covered by other Ukrainian Canadian newspapers. In as much as **STUDENT** continued to strive and reach out to Ukrainian Canadian students across the nation soliciting articles and advertisements, the inevitable lack of enough financial and human resources to maintain this necessary campaign, it eventually began to lose impetus.

The second phase of the 1983-1984 **STUDENT** editorial year transpired during the summer of 1984 in Winnipeg, Manitoba. As I prepared to leave Ottawa for work in Winnipeg, a decision was made to transfer **STUDENT**'s operations to Western Canada. Consequently, the entire Ottawa infrastructure primarily dissolved creating a major gap in the size and functioning of the collectivity as a cohesive body. **STUDENT** had successfully been published out of Ottawa. However, the question remained: could it survive in Winnipeg?

In many ways, the Winnipeg phase of **STUDENT** reflected the changing dynamics of Canada's evolving Ukrainian Canadian student movement. Few students in university at that time had heard about or seen previous editions of the newspaper. The initial phase of operation began in sensitizing several Winnipeggers to the history and tradition behind the newspaper. Perhaps the greatest challenge rested in maintaining the enthusiasm and dedication of the Ottawa collective, while transferring those ideals during the process of establishing a cohesive body of people in Winnipeg to carry on the challenge.

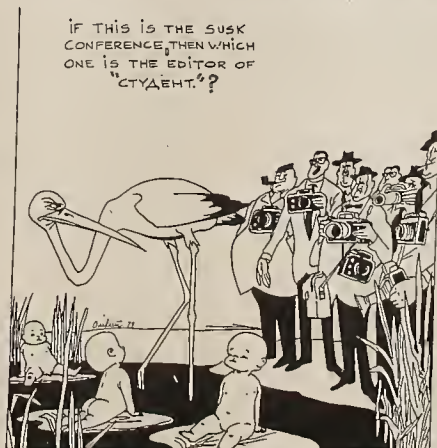
The Ukrainian Canadian Development Committee (UCDC) was retained as **STUDENT** headquarters during the summer months leading up to the 1984 SUSK Congress. Students working in the UCDC offices were co-opted into participating as a loose collective. Oksana Sharaburak, Vivian Osadchuk, Anne Kolody, Daria Romaniuk and **STUDENT**'s, then newly discovered caricaturist, Roman Rozumnyj, were participants during the last two editions of the

newspaper. As these individuals became sensitized to the mechanics of operation, the collective began to coalesce. In Winnipeg, as in Ottawa, **STUDENT** resorted to out-of-town help in production. This time, Patricia Yaremchuk from Thunder Bay was esconced in UCDC offices, patiently drinking Canadian wine and sizing photographs for the third edition.

The Winnipeg phase was unique in relation to the period in Ottawa. In Winnipeg, **STUDENT** benefited from the historical memories of former SUSK and **STUDENT** activists who, both emotionally and financially, supported the collective's efforts. **STUDENT** also benefited from the diverse ethnocultural and Ukrainian community in the solicitation of advertising revenue in and around the Winnipeg area. More importantly, the environment within the Winnipeg area influenced the nature of the paper's publication. **STUDENT** was again in Western Canada. As a result, its perspective was enhanced.

The location had an impact upon the nature of issues discussed within the paper's last two editions during the 1983-1984 year. The third edition represented a truly collaborative effort between Ukrainian students in Eastern and Western Canada. Vital issues such as the 1984 Liberal Party National Leadership Convention, the activities of Edmonton Mayor Laurence Decore, the Progressive Conservative 1984 "Passport to Ethnicity" Conference, International Youth Year activities and the events surrounding the release of "Harvest of Despair", depicting the historical reality of the 1933 Famine in Ukraine, were reflected on the pages of **STUDENT**. Other timely events; such as the publication of Victor Malarek's autobiography, "Hey, Malarek!", the Premiere production of "Just a Kommedia", an inaugural event in the Ukrainian Canadian theatre and news of a historic architectural project near Dauphin, Manitoba called "SELO Ukraina" were also splashed across the third edition of **STUDENT**. In many ways, the feelings of joy, satisfaction and relief experienced by Ottawa collective members upon seeing the first **STUDENT** was mirrored by Winnipeggers upon publication of the third issue.

Whereas this **STUDENT** represented the merging of contemporary Ukrainian student attitudes and concerns from Eastern and Western Canada, the final edition of the 1983-1984 **STUDENT** year bridged the gap between former Ukrainian student activists during the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, and those currently participating. I anticipated originally that the third edition would be the last under my term as editor. As the summer dwindled leading up to the 1984 SUSK Congress, the Ukrainian community in Canada experienced a profound loss in the death of former **STUDENT**, SUSK and community activist, Andriy Bandera. It was



(v12 n57, Sept.-Oct. 1979)

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during this period, that the extended collective truly became a unified voice speaking on behalf of the previous and current Ukrainian student movement.

In the spirit of cooperation with former STUDENT and SUSKites across Canada, the collective expanded its membership and proceeded to cooperate with an ad-hoc body in Toronto to produce the final and commemorative edition of STUDENT during 1983-1984, dedicated to Andriy Bandera. Members of this extended collective included Oles Cheren, Natalka Chryska, Olenka Demianchuk, Bohdan Kliid, Halya Kuchmij, Lida Kudla, Olya Kuplowska and Andriy Semotiuk along with other individuals too numerous to mention, who contributed to that final issue. In as much as the 1983-1984 STUDENT represented the contemporary ideals of Ukrainian student activism, this final edition served as a reminder of the rich tradition underlying the history of STUDENT. As I travelled by car to the 1984 Vancouver SUSK congress, weighed down by boxes of the final STUDENT edition, I had an opportunity to reflect on my term as editor. Many of the thoughts which permeated my mind during the course of my Western trek continue to do so today as I reflect back upon the 1983-1984 year. My snapshots of the STUDENT year tend to drift not to the ever-present problems associated with the publication of a newspaper, nor to the myriad difficulties experienced as a former student activist within the Ukrainian Canadian community, rather, they drift toward the individuals, singular and in combination, who made the STUDENT experience worthwhile.

Perhaps the most personal snapshot reflecting my experience within STUDENT history comes not from a particular incident with collective members, but from an encounter on the floor of the 1984 National Leadership Convention of the Liberal Party of Canada. As I was standing in front of the John Turner section at the Civic Center in Ottawa, prior to the announcement following the final vote, I attempted

to train one of my borrowed cameras on the soon to be Prime Minister. The camera was ill-equipped for the situation as I struggled to get a decent angle for a potential cover shot for STUDENT. As is turned out, I was caught between a large riser holding three television camera operators and equipment for CTV, CBC and Global News. Noticing that my footing was tenuous and that I was noticeably smaller in size than the other photographers who persisted in crowding the booth holding Turner, a camera operator from CTV news tapped me on my shoulder and asked if I would like to stand on the riser. As I stood awaiting for the announcement, one foot perilously on the metal barrier to the seats and the other on the riser, the cameraman grabbed my belt and held on to me so I wouldn't fall onto the concrete. He asked me which newspaper I represented. I told him. He hadn't heard of STUDENT. But in the time period during my delicate balancing act six feet above photographers for the Ottawa Citizen and the Toronto Star, I began to realize what it meant to be a participant in the STUDENT experience.

As the vote was announced, I proceeded to get as many photographs as possible before I knew that I could no longer continue standing in the position I was in. Upon finishing, I turned to the cameraman and thanked him for his help in getting my precious cover shot. He replied, "Anything to help a buddy get the story".

As I walked out of the almost empty cavernous Civic Center, I was struck by his remark. In many ways, it represented the heart of successive STUDENT collective ideals. Legitimacy and dedication rooted in the belief of the need for the existence of a forum for vigorous debate dealing with the traditional and contemporary issues concerning Ukrainian Canadian students are the core of STUDENT. The 1983-1984 extended STUDENT collective attempted to continue these ideals. As our community reaches its 100th anniversary within Canada in 1992, I encourage and urge all Ukrainian Canadian students to continue the vital tradition of STUDENT into the next century.

"А В ТОЙ САМ ЧАС У ВІННІПЕЗІ.."



(v4 n15, November 1971)

УПАДКОМ

Stan Chuyko 1985-85

Is currently taking courses in theology at St. Paul's University in Ottawa and will be residing in the Ukrainian Seminary in Ottawa in the new year.

It's a great privilege to be asked to write an article for the twentieth anniversary issue of STUDENT. For those of you who have followed STUDENT for the last twenty years, you know that my tenure was not known for producing many issues, in fact the total output was one. The reason for this outcome is simple – in the beginning there was a lack of experience on my part, later with experience gained there was a lack of funds. I would like to point out to those people who thirsted for more issues that my tenure was not in vain, for with the experience gained that year I am presently talking to the local CTV affiliate in Ottawa about doing several news specials that would be aired in 1989, including one on the Ukrainian churches in Ukraine. This would have been impossible without the opportunity to carve a notch, small as it was. In concluding my look-back on the years 1984-1985 I would like to thank two people who were indispensable in the production of STUDENT, they are Christia Chudczak and Patricia Yaremchuk.

Confessions of a STUDENT Junkie

Andriy Makuch

This never-completed reminiscence was prepared by former SUSK President Andriy Makuch not long after he had moved from Edmonton to Saskatoon in 1980. It is presented in the spirit of providing a street-level view of STUDENT's Edmonton years.

I once marvelled at the power – even mystique – associated with each new issue of STUDENT. Lithe linguists and portly professors continually asked me the inevitable question, "Is the latest issue out yet?" If by some sleight of hand I produced the object of their desires, the result was uniformly the same. Our conversation ended abruptly as they dove for the KGB ("Komitet Generalnoho Bazikannia") column or the letters to the editor. "Skhamenitsial! O – tse vam poroda dobra" (realms of laughter ensued).

"Yes, I do think Koskovych should run for the Rhinos" (same result). The front cover hid their faces, but I could see their obvious joy. As soon as their elation subsided enough to thank me, the aforementioned gentlemen invariably retired to their cells and checked over the fine print. Of course, I got a considerable rush from this ritual because I knew precisely which sections would produce the loudest howls of delight – and whether these were self-evident or needed to be pointed out. As I slowly left the mainstream of STUDENT, I became less familiar with the contents of each issue but no less pleased with the appearance of each new one. Then I moved out of Edmonton and found myself far from the physical and spiritual epicenter of STUDENT activity and I realised why my linguists and professors always pounced on the "latest": they were hooked and their long-awaited fix had arrived. It became patently obvious to me: I too am a STUDENT junkie.

This revelation caused me to browse through my back issues in order to affirm that this was a normal condition. My intuition proved right and my mind was put at ease. In looking at the last few years of STUDENT (since it started coming out from Edmonton) I could see the publication's growing sophistication both in terms of style and content. At the same time I decided that it may not be premature to point out some of its accomplishments and to comment about their genesis. Of course, it all started in a smoke-filled back room. Nestor Makuch was elected editor-in-chief of STUDENT at the 1977 SUSK Congress in Vancouver. The Ukrainian Canadian students' movement would never be the same. He optimistically forecast a monthly publication and although there were misgivings about whether this could be done, no one denied it was a grand idea. One year and ten issues later there were no doubts that it could be done, and that it could be done well. The editor-in-chief and his associates were given an incredible round of applause after submitting the STUDENT report to the 1978 SUSK Congress in Winnipeg.

It had not been easy (understatement), but it had been exciting. The first (Edmonton) issue, no.39, set the tone. The production problems were incredible since no one was quite sure how to put a newspaper together. Nevertheless, the end product was impressive. A graphic, irreverently commenting on attempts by the Canadian League for Ukrainian Liberation to bring the other "Big Six" organizations into line with its political positions before the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) congress, graced the front page and articles dealing with the Vancouver SUSK Congress (and its most controversial resolutions, regarding Leonid Plyusheh, and Quebec separatism) could be found on its pages. It was heady stuff – perhaps too heady for some people. The "new" STUDENT made its public appearance in October at the UCC congress and it did not fail to make an impression on many of the delegates there (whether for better or worse is another matter). It was a great issue – with some minor exceptions: the lay-out was

horrendous, the articles uniformly cerebral and politically oriented, and (with the exception of the front cover) there were no graphics.

The next issue improved considerably as STUDENT started evolving its own style. Graphics were added, care was taken to avoid huge blocks of type, and even a subscription form was added. The content was diversified to include articles dealing with emigre politics, multiculturalism, SUSK business, Ukrainian studies, and culture. It was all uphill from there as STUDENT started publishing some of the most interesting, exciting, and relevant items one could find in the Ukrainian press. There were interviews with Harvey Spak, Norman Cafik, Manoly Lupul, Myrna Kostash, Yuri Shevelov, and others, thought-provoking critique of multiculturalism as a social phenomenon and political policy, feature essays and photojournalist items (adding a new dimension to the centerspread pages), and finally a very strong and dynamic cultural element (giving the entire paper a balanced perspective).

STUDENT had become "must" reading, the sort of journalism that the *hromada* should have been producing but was not. The feisty new kid on the block had gained a certain respect (and notoriety) because of its forthright manner. And it was not at all bashful about promoting itself – that was the only way to survive. STUDENT was hawked at concerts; proprietors of Ukrainian businesses were hounded for donations; and young Ukrainians (who occasionally wandered off the path of temperance) were urged to donate their empties "for the cause". Somehow ends met and the next issue always came out.

at this point the chronology ends...

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Rifts Within Executive: Unanswered Questions Remain

(v13 n68, Jan.-Feb. 1981)

David Lupul

The series of unfortunate events which followed the resignation of Mike Maryn as the National President of the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (SUSK) last month raise several questions of critical importance to the future of the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union. Despite the fact that the poster has since been cancelled, and Mike Maryn has now rejoined the National Executive in his capacity as President, the issues which remained at the focus of the January crisis, and which are debated in the exchange of letters reproduced above, still remain unresolved.

In my view, the two most fundamental issues raised by the dispute are: 1) What should be SUSK's role vis-a-vis the rest of the Ukrainian-Canadian community; and 2) What are the obligations of SUSK Executive members to fulfill their duties to the membership of SUSK, as well as to uphold its constitution? And on what basis should disputes on fundamental principles be resolved within an executive?

These are difficult questions to resolve in the best of circumstances, and it is not my concern to have to condemn the National Executive for their failure to take decisive positions on these issues in the midst of the January crisis. They are, however, questions with which any SUSK Executive must ultimately come to terms. SUSK's relationship to the Ukrainian-Canadian community has always been a major focal point within Ukrainian student clubs; so has the issue of the responsibility of SUSK executive members to their membership. Since such fundamental issues affect the day to day operations of SUSK, they should be adequately resolved as soon as possible.

There have always been different perceptions among members of SUSK as to what is the best policy in dealing with the rest of the Ukrainian community. One extreme advocates a completely non-antagonistic approach — students should never do anything which might be perceived by other Ukrainian community organizations as being controversial or, worse yet, critical of certain aspects of the way in which the community conducts itself.

Other choose to ignore the community, claiming that it is pointless to try to placate a Ukrainian community which is incapable of understanding the beliefs and aspirations of the young generation of Ukrainian Canadians who have no use for the bitter sectarian struggles of their elders.

But the policy mandated by SUSK Congresses to the SUSK Executives in the past has been one which sought to convince Ukrainian community organizations and their members that students have a variety of new and innovative ideas as to how Ukrainians should live within Canada's multicultural society, and that these ideas should be implemented if Ukrainian-Canadian organizational life is to flourish in Canada. SUSK has attempted to portray itself, with some success, as a future-oriented organization which seeks to break new ground in areas where the older generation is slow to take initiatives — in dealing with Ukrainian-Canadian culture and issues, in dealing with government on political issues, and so forth. The principal goal of SUSK has been to try to unite students from a wide variety of backgrounds and experiences, and to place the more irrational disputes of previous generations behind us.

Unfortunately, the controversy over the so-called "sickle" poster has not reflected well on SUSK's image as a forward-looking organization composed of reasonable individuals. A poster which reflects our traditional heritage has embroiled the SUSK Executive and a handful of other individuals in a dispute worthy of the finest, obscurantist battles of previous generations.

It is obvious that the arguments over whether the poster should have been printed or not did not hinge on the intrinsic merits of the poster (which quite a number of people have praised as being a fine, artistic conception), but rather it concerned the degree to which SUSK should be sensitive to the potential objections of certain segments of the Ukrainian community to its actions.

Mike Maryn's personal view, that the poster would contribute to promoting a "Marxist or leftist" image for SUSK among the most vociferously anti-communist sectors of the Ukrainian community, is hardly a credible reason for cancelling the poster. It was considered unobjectionable by the vast majority of people who have had the chance to comment upon it, and would scarcely have caused a ripple in most circles of the Ukrainian community.

What is most confusing about the entire affair is that the SUSK Executive failed to uphold its own democratic decision to print the poster. In doing so, the Executive failed to live up to its commitments to publicize the activities of Ukrainian Student Weeks across Canada to the rest of the community. If there were concerns that the poster would subject SUSK to Marxist red-baiting, this could have been easily dealt with through a well-planned publicity campaign, explaining the purpose of the poster and the nature of the activities being promoted during the various Ukrainian Weeks across Canada.

It is unfortunate that Mike Maryn's personal crusade to rid SUSK of its "Marxist or leftist" image has only served to give some credibility to the issue of "Marxist bogeyman" within SUSK, and now the Executive will have to take steps to pick up the pieces as the fallout from this controversy continues. By failing to stand up on this issue, the Executive may be faced with the ridiculous assertions and prejudices emanating from those circles who wish to dabble in rumors and falsehoods.

Moreover, SUSK has always prided itself as being a "cross-ideological organization", recruiting its membership from all political and religious segments in the community. There has been no mandate from the Congress to make the eradication of "Marxism or leftism" within SUSK a priority of the SUSK National Executive. Neither has this objective been approved in any policy statements from the SUSK Executive. If Mike Maryn wants a personal crusade he would be well-advised to concentrate on sprucing up SUSK's tarnished image with its traditional supporters, such as the Ukrainian Professional and Business Federation, rather than attempting to slay "Marxist" dragons, which have become virtually extinct in the universities of the 1980's.

—ON THE SUSK CONSTITUTION—

On the second issue, that is, whether the decision-making process within SUSK has adequately been upheld — there remain serious questions as to the Executive's handling of the entire

dispute. In their letter of 26 January 1981, the SUSK Executive rejects Mike Maryn's position that the Executive should be run according to the principle of consensus rather than by majority vote. The SUSK Constitution is clear on this matter; it states that "all business of the Executive shall be carried on by a majority vote."

Moreover, it would be the height of inconsistency to argue that the SUSK Executive should be guided by "consensus" when SUSK has consistently criticized the Ukrainian community and its undemocratic nature as exemplified by KYK (Ukrainian Canadian Committee). How can we hope to serve as "models" for the Ukrainian community, when we ourselves cannot agree on how democracy is supposed to function within SUSK?

But the Executive apparently considers itself bound by majority vote. Why then was the poster not printed? The poster was approved by a majority vote (twice) and, despite these two votes, a decision was subsequently made not to print it.

The SUSK Executive has not come forward with a forthright explanation. The above letter merely cites "various reasons" for the lack of a poster: the SUSK National newsletter, *Chutky*, claims "technical difficulties" surrounding the alleged constitutionality of the votes taken on the poster.

Both explanations are unclear and appear a trifle contrived. What is clear is that the SUSK Executive had a responsibility to the membership of SUSK to have a poster produced for Ukrainian Weeks. The poster was approved by the Executive and it was already at the printer's shop.

Further explanations from the Executive give the following as an excuse. One clause of the Constitution [sec. 9.03 (b)] states: "A quorum required at a meeting will be the President and three members." Because Mike Maryn (the President) was not present at either meeting when the votes were taken, certain members of the Executive believed that the votes might not be constitutional.

But another clause of the Constitution [9.02 (a)] states: "In the event of a resignation of a member of a body of SUSK, the Executive may appoint a replacement." Had the Executive chosen to accept Mike Maryn's letter of resignation, they could have appointed a new President and resolved the issue in a fairly straightforward manner. This would appear to be the most sensible interpretation to draw from these two clauses of the Constitution as they presently stand. To interpret them otherwise, would be to suggest that the entire SUSK Executive (all eighteen members) would cease to have any authority in the absence of the President's authority. And this is clearly inconsistent with the SUSK Constitution, by which the Congress elects all of the SUSK Executive members, and to which all are ultimately accountable.

One would suspect that there were probably many factors which influenced the National Executive's decision not to accept Mike Maryn's resignation and, therefore, not to print the poster. One would hope for a fuller explanation from the Executive of the circumstances under which they found themselves virtually paralyzed for a three-week period, and their recommendations for avoiding a similar impasse in the future. A start might be made in this direction by the Executive in exercising its right to pass by-laws (under section 11.01 (b) of the Constitution) to clarify particular sections of the Constitution, such as the quorum clause. A policy statement from the Executive, re-affirming its commitment to democratic principles in its decision-making process, would also help to clear the air on this issue.

The entire affair points out the kind of mistakes which executives can fall into over seemingly innocuous issues. All executives make mistakes, but the mark of good leadership is the ability to learn from one's mistakes. To this end, a leadership-training program should be instituted within SUSK which would help future SUSK Executives, as well as local club executives, to learn how to resolve problems of a similar nature more expeditiously. Basic knowledge of how to resolve intra-group conflicts without provoking the alienation of one group or another is an essential function of leadership, and is a skill all student clubs could benefit from.

And what of SUSK, in the aftermath of this crisis? It is crucially important that any re-evaluation of the affair recognize that a lot of rifts remain within the National Executive and questions remain unanswered. For instance, who took the decision not to have the poster printed? Laryssa Rohowsky, the Secretary of SUSK, stated that she first knew that the poster was not to be printed a full week after the decision to cancel had been made. Rohowsky claims that she was asked to sign a letter cancelling the poster on 29 January 1981. She felt that this was a surprising request as the Executive had twice voted in favor of printing the poster, and that only another vote by the Executive could have cancelled the poster off (as long as there were questions raised about quorums and validities of votes). Several other Executive members outside of Toronto claim that they were generally kept in the dark about the events which transpired in Toronto following Mike Maryn's resignation, and they felt that the Toronto-based Executive has an obligation to be more forthright in explaining these matters to fellow Executive members and the SUSK membership.

The time has come to put the whole affair behind us; but first, a full explanation of the resolution of this entire affair should be issued from the Executive to the membership of SUSK. We all could benefit from having the air cleared on this leadership question within SUSK.

Enough Said?

With all due respect to Mykhailo Maryn for his efforts on SUSK's behalf during the past two years, I must say that I found his letter in *Student* (no. 68, March 1981) very disturbing. Let me briefly explain my misgivings.

1) There was no need for a (public) response to D. Lupul's article about the rifts which had developed in the SUSK executive over the issue of the Stanko poster for Ukrainian week. The *Student* collective had bent over backwards to be "fair" and "objective" in its coverage of the affair, largely in an effort to bury it. There was no need to resurrect it and even less for Maryn to do so. Furthermore, if Maryn had wished to impress upon Lupul his inability to understand the "full nature of the debate," he had ample opportunity to do this in Saskatoon at the SUSK Western Conference and avoid a useless polemic in *Student*. Why didn't he?

2) It is self-evident that Maryn was not without some degree of fault in this entire affair. Yet in his letter to the editor he attempts to rid himself of any blame for it. To make things worse, he even attempts to put the blame squarely on the shoulders of his executive after all fences between them have allegedly been mended. This simply is not kosher.

3) Maryn still seems to feel that the Stanko poster would have "isolated" SUSK from the rest of the community. This is patently absurd. However, this is not the point I wish to make. The fact that Maryn perceived that the poster would cause an uproar seems to indicate that he is overly sensitive about SUSK's "image" (read: Marxists, socialists, internationalists, etc.). To set the record straight, let me point out that SUSK has not had a Marxist executive during the last decade — all have consistently been shades of small 'l' liberal — until this year. I do not think Maryn realizes this and he seems to be developing into a modern Quixote chasing windmills with sickles on them. The main losers in this useless and baseless antagonism are SUSK — which is not getting on with its business — and *Student* — which came to a virtual standstill while this whole sordid affair was working itself out and which is now finding itself discreetly pressured financially because it has been painted red.

I am writing this letter not with the intention of exacerbating any existing tensions. I like Mykhailo and will even tolerate his cigars. But, I felt that his letter to the editor demonstrated a lack of good faith to *Student* and indicated that the problems generated by the rift over the poster were not being solved. This situation cannot continue indefinitely and I feel it is Maryn's duty to clear the air rather than to foster new antagonisms, so that the student movement can once more function in a spirit of goodwill.

Andrii Makuch
SUSK President 1977-78
Saskatoon, Sask.

(v13 n70, Apr.-May. 1981)

You say yes, I say no....
You say goodbye, I say hello....

В якого біса? (v16 n82, May-June 1984)

Роман Вшук

О радуйся, душе, і веселися! Втілення духу СУСКУ. Володимир Коскович, повернувшись на путь праведних! Уявіть собі, що він написав в останньому числі "Студента", "Мова — це носій культури; а дійсності, поняття моан і культури — нероздільні". З цього виходить, як він пише, що нам українцям не можна забувати про важливість мови, і її ключову роль в житті одиної й групи. Серце, як згадано, від цього всього аж тьохкає. У світі концепцій і теорій, все на свійому місці.

На жаль, час від часу втручається в нашу мовну ідентичність. Візьмім, скажімо, факт, що українська мова зникає з домів канадських українців, які з кожним переписом населення щораз менше живають її між собою. Проте, як показують опитування в справі неофіційних мов, більшість із нас вважає, що українська мова, це є Гарна Річ, і що наші діти (існуючі або майбутні) повинні її вивчати. Взагалі, як виходить, уся надія в школах, головню двомовних.

Саме за них іде сьогодні

боротьба. За українську мову в школах змагаються об'єднання батьків, Комітет розвитку української громади (UCDC), від довгих років, СУСК. Всіх їх об'єднує любов до української мови і факт, що жодна з цих організацій її сама не вживає. Та це, запевняють нас, дрібниці. Почекайте, мовляв, аж поки діти не закінчать двомовну програму. Вони заступлять нас, недосконалих, і знову почнуть українізувати українські установи і громаду взагалі. Всього тягар збереження мови перекладено на школярів. Для нас, це дуже вигідно.

Можна б тут, заспокоївши совість, закінчити статтю, якби не кілька дразливих питань. По-перше: з ким це многонадійне нове покоління міні-Шевченків мало б властиво говорити по-українському?

Вісімдесятилітніми дідусями й бабцями? Самими собою? Перша група введові відійде від нас, а з самих себе випускники двомовних шкіл скорше чи пізніше згудуться. Решта громади, тим часом, уже спокійно мовно засимілювалася. По-друге: чи в таких

оточеннях взагалі можливо вивчити будь-яку мову настільки, щоб могли нею користуватися в щоденному житті? Тут нам у пригоді стає друга теорія двомовного шкільництва, що її можна б назвати "символістичною".

Ми з Вами, на жаль, були трохи наївними, і не здали собі справ з того, що важливим є не стільки знання мови, скільки процес вивчення її. Для української громади, мова мала б бути радше символом, який спонує докупити етнічну групу, ніж оперативний засіб спілкування між людьми.

Мені здається, що ця мова-символ мусіла б, зирнодріччю, стати музейною і стерильною, подібною за своєю долею до латини, яка ретельно вивчається, але не вживається. Чи з такою мовою можливо буде нашої громаді зробити дійсно самобутній, вартисний вклад у загальноканадську культуру?

В теорії в Канаді всі культурні рівні, хоч у дійсності, переважують англо-американська і французька. Інші, включно з українською, присуджені на кольоритне фольклорне животіння. або

перейшовши на одну з офіційних мов, стають дешево екзотичним підрозділом або приміткою в історії англо- чи франкомовної літератури та театру. Ще пайрівіші шанси існують у мистецтві й музиці, але й тут після втрати інших сфер культурного життя можна сидіватись заперзду.

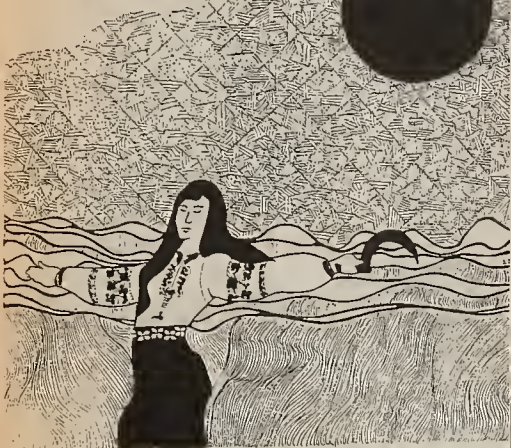
Багато молодих канадських українців погодяться з Володимиром Косковичем, що дальше існування і розвитку української культури в Канаді є дуже побажале. Вони може навіть погодяться з тим, що мова і культура — нероздільні. Штука полягатиме в тому, щоб переконатися, що без власних, особистих зусиль, наші успіхи будуть, у найкращому випадку, несовними. Активної підтримки для двомовних програм, та шкільництва взагалі, не досить, хоч і вона конечно потрібна. Всім тим, кому залежить на дальшому творчому існуванню нашої громади, треба переверити, наскільки вони самі стараються вживати українську мову. В іншому разі прийдеться придумати якусь переконливу відповідь на питання: "В якого біса вони вічно возяться з тою українською мовою?"

MULTICULTURALISM

(v3 n10, December 1970)

UKRAINIAN STUDENTS' MONTH

february 1981



This is the graphic that triggered the resignation of SUSK President Mykhailo Maryn. It was designed by York University student Ivan Stanko for the poster promoting Ukrainian Students' Month activities at campuses across the country. The sun, the woman's skirt, and the embroidery on her blouse were to have been colored red; but the poster was never printed.

(v13 n68, Jan.-Feb. 1980)

IVth Volume and Ethnic Suppression (University of Alberta — Ukrainian Students Club — Position Paper on the IVth Volume).

We, as Ukrainian Canadians, totally reject the position of biculturalism as presented in the fourth volume of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism entitled The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups.

A double melting-pot policy will not build up a Canadian identity. It is a discriminatory action against non-British and non-French ethnic groups. It will lead to a blur in the distinction between Canadianism and Americanism. We are not short term residents. We are not immigrants. We are Canadians.

The development of a cultural identity other than British and French is not non-Canadian. We wish to be full participants in the development of our country, Canada.

The fourth volume concentrates exclusively on the past contributions (something given) of the other ethnic groups. The present plight of the ethnic groups is largely ignored — the future barely contemplated. Only four of the fourteen commissioners were of a non-British, non-French origin.

This Commission, therefore, is hardly representative of Canada's true ethnic composition. But, what is even more important, the Commission

could not fully understand or appreciate the existing situation of other ethnic groups. Retention and preservation are no longer enough — we did not desire to become historical artifacts.

The lack of proper publicity and access for the general to the fourth volume is an indication that the Commission itself considers the report to be of little consequence and that the Government wishes to have little public awareness of the other ethnic groups as functioning components of Canadian society. It must be realized that participating in

Until now all creative energies of the ethnic groups have been channelled into preservation — not development — of their cultures because of the prevailing repressive atmosphere. In order that non-British, non-French cultures flourish, a conducive atmosphere must be established.

The quiet revolution in Quebec should have opened the door for the other ethnic groups, that is, a new attitude of acceptance should have developed. What has happened instead? Biculturalism was introduced to temporarily appease the French. Now ethnic minorities face two overbearing culture groups, the British and the French.

Central to a bicultural position is a rejection of all that is non-British, non-French. Of necessity it relegates the native peoples, the Slavs, the Italians, the Chinese to an inferior secondary status.

the development of any ethnic group (other than the British and French) is also a positive contribution to the development of the Canadian identity.

The Government must take an official position of multiculturalism in order to make Canadians aware of the multicultural aspects of their country.

We demand that not only restriction be removed, but rather that the emphasis of the Government become conducive to our development.

Culture and knowledge are not instinctively acquired — rather, knowledge of them is gained through learning experiences. These learning experiences are acquired within the ethnic community.

In order for the various ethnic communities to continue developing on an ever higher level (that is, not only with tokenistic expressions of culture such as folk dancing and cuisine) they must receive massive federal financial support.

We are asking that the federal and provincial Governments change their attitudes toward non-British, non-French groups in Canadian society. To stop regarding them with indifference, to realize that they have made, and will continue to be making great contributions to further developing and enriching Canada's cultural, political and social life.

Ethnic groups must not be merely tolerated but encouraged to thrive and develop.

AMERICA SLAYS THE DRAGON

The following article is composed of extracts taken directly from an article entitled *Young Marxists do Their Stuff* which appeared in the October 20, 1977, issue of the informative Ukrainian American newspaper *America*.

The fact is fabulous, indeed, indeed. There is a hard core of Marxist zealots among Ukrainian students in Canada who are openly active in non-communist and even professedly anti-communist student organization. Lately, they became too vocal and ardent in critical area of the Ukrainian national community life and policy in Canada. When opposed in their endeavors to get for Leonid Plyuschch invitation for appearance as a principal speaker at the Congress of the Canadian Ukrainian Committee in Winnipeg by the League for Liberation of Ukraine—a political organization which is the constituent member of the Committee, the Union of Ukrainian Students in Canada resolved at their Congress to condemn the League for Liberation of Ukraine as a "fascist" and "totalitarian" organization having possibly ties to the KGB (organs of the state security in the USSR)...

...The members of the League for Liberation of Ukraine as non-Marxists, have the right to oppose the invitation of a Marxist as a principal speaker at the Congress of Ukrainians in Canada. Young Ukrainian Marxists may be few in numbers, but we shall always remember Leninist dogma that numbers are less important than disciplined organization. When we regard young Ukrainian Marxism in the United States and in Canada as we decidedly should—their numerical insignificance ceases to be decisive. With Chinese and Cuban forces added to the Soviet apparatus, the world Marxist enterprise is vastly larger and more powerful than at any



legal responsibility for their actions, and their posture as wrongdoers cannot be tolerated by the community. It must be said here that the existence of our young Marxists and tolerance of their pseudo-idealistic verbiage of Marxism coupled with different Left slogans, has long been ignored by the Ukrainian community in the United States and in Canada. It is the last time to stop this practice; otherwise this type of our self-indulgence will become foolish and even suicidal. In exposing the past and current machinations of the K.G.B. agents, nobody is beating a dead horse. The animal is very much alive and gets its oats regularly from the international ladder stock...

The "Red Decade," of course, did not end with the advent of 1940's; communist organizations and influence were carried over and have persisted, in varying degrees to this day. The present day Party-line for the West, in both the Kremlin and Maoist versions, prescribes cooperation with any radical movement, even with the formerly outlawed anarchist tendencies. Thus, the brain damage and ethical trauma have been passed along to the present day generation...

...Extremes of violence and vandalism and pornography combine with teaching in schools and universities, with writing in avant-garde periodicals, with preaching from the pulpit to keep the world in a state of turmoil and uncertainty. The followers of Marx have been entrenched everywhere: in the government, in the schools and universities, in literature and art. All they work for: Revolution: this swarming, disciplined, obedient and fanatically self-righteous army of Marxists. A generation of college youth has been poisoned by Marxist pseudo-science and amorality and has carried the disease into manifold post-collegiate activities. This is also the reason for one of the strangest lapses into utopianism which afflicted a part of the Ukrainian students.

time in the past. Its Ukrainian agencies are therefore correspondingly more dangerous to our institutions and community life.

Do they play the Soviet game, these young Marxists? No, by no means, they even profess being anti-Soviet. They are an assortment of Marxists without specific foreign alliances. Psychologically these young Ukrainians remained tied to Marxism also by other varieties of radicalism such as anarchism, nihilism, and other throwbacks to nineteenth-century philosophies. Frequently they are penetrated by fashionable "life styles" of the hippies, yuppies, crazies, all soaked through with drug addiction, mystic cults, sheer destruction urges. In this case, sense of guilt ties them to Marxism and the desire to shock the family or the community becomes urgent. Having been involved in Marxist skulduggery, they find it difficult to deal tolerantly with those who don't agree with them. Their asinine reaction to a different opinion voiced by the League for Liberation of Ukraine, is the best proof that our young Marxists are not candid revolutionists who have the courage of their convictions men and women whose moral stature we can respect, but are the horde of part-time rebels who have

neither courage nor convictions, but only a muddy emotionality and a mental fog which makes them an easy prey for the political racketeers...

...Our young Marxists should not be excerpt from moral and



Makhno mania

У попередньому випуску "Студентів" дали Ви картун про Махна, в якому він був до деякої міри не точно зокорисним для Всіх читачів, а навіть і шкідливим у

їхніх світоглядних шуканнях.

З тієї причини переслаю Вам відбитку про студію Палія. Припускаю, що про цю студію вже знаєте, але вважаю, що рецензія Л. Шенковського дуже влучно, і Вам необхідно поінформувати

євти і себе самих і своїх читачів про цю студію Пелія, щоб мсти правильний погляд на роліу Махна в періоді творення української держави.

Пішчу українською мовою, щоб заакцентувати необхідність у Вас знання цієї мови, хоча принципово вважаю, що "Студент" англій-

ського мовою сполісноє своє завдання.

У прилозі переслаюю передоплату для мого внука, який цікавиться Вашою діяльністю і може в майбутньому стати Вашим співробітником.

Бажаючі Вам всього найкращого, сердечно здоровля

Іван Смолий
ред. "Народної Волі"
Скритон, Пв.

like it all happened one day but it was a long time coming it all began once upon a time and like there were all these ukrainian type students and like they are all going through these hassles and running around town and getting everyone out to go out to this thing like in Vancouver so i read my maps and sure enough it was really beside the ocean and like hell there were kids flying by plane going by boat and rail and everyone really coming and boy like i took my bag and i got all undressed up and decided to go too and man like everyone had this really groovy time and like all these hepped-up cats got up there but like man you know i don't know what the hell i'm doing in it yet so i shake my head and say yeah that's it and meantime all these cats are getting together like they all groove away on this ukrainian high and do their own thing in the old ukrainian way and man like i dig these cats anyway like the local type to-ron-to club well they planned this meeting thing one night and like it's a long time coming about but the coffee is sweet and well like this super-straight cat he gets up and two more super-straight cats get up and like they had a debate on like whether we should like

commemorate this day when three hundred students took this power trip against the red army and like they found out that flower-power doesn't pay like this one cat at the debate in toronto gets up and he starts flaying away at this other guy and like i don't think they love each other and i was sure glad their mothers weren't there because the things they were saying were terrible and pretty soon the first one sat down because he got all embarrassed because he lost the page in his book and he was sure going to read it to us so he tried another page but it just wasn't right and so like he sat down meanwhile this guy in the middle kept looking at his watch and it must have been through one of those torture tests because ever so often he would tell everyone that it was still going and what time it was and anyway the other got up and says man like this is just a marriage-market and like who the hell are we fooling anyway like man what the hell what the hell have we got to bitch about and anyway Christ like he was flaying his fists all around and like he had this too tight jacket on and like i'm really sure he was choking on his tie cause like his face was sure red and he kept screaming

about what our parents gave us and look how hard they worked for us and all the while i was trying to hide this big rip in my pants and by and by this other cat gets up like i mean he was really far out and he picked up his hook like he had done before and he swayed and swayed and i was getting scared that he would fall right over on the tape recorder which was right beside him and boy me and the other kids were sure glad that he finally stopped swaying and declaring himself for motherhood and holubtsi and sat down so again the other one rises and like he keeps talking about how phony we all are and how none of the groovy turned-on people are here anyway and like i don't know what's happening and like i decide to go cause i really don't like marriage and i was on this diet and so i was staying away from motherhood and holubtsi and so like a couple of days later i see the movie about these greek cats and they keep fighting for freedom and all those straight cats who only care about motherhood and marrying and i keep thinking about those three hundred ukrainian students and those straight cats in the debate and i really don't know what they're fighting for

Схаменіться, будьте люди, бо лихо вам буде!

(ПресНТЕС, Новий Пасиків, Онт.) Восени цього року відбудеться нова п'єса Авангардного Українського Театру (АУТ): "Дуель" (що це взагалі за українське слово?). Виступи відбудуться в залі Українського Народного Дому при вулиці Ліннікотт 191. Хоч усі виступи дуже гарно відбудуться перед численною публікою, молоддю і страши-ми, на залі буде пахнути опортунізмом.

Хоч перша сценка буде виконана зі смаком і гарно відігравуватиме життя порядних українців у Канаді, на загал п'єса буде йти цілковито в розріз із культурно-патріотичною течією українського суспільства на еміграції. Загально кажучи, АУТ протиставляється всьому, що ми тут у Канаді побудували.

Бажаючи зміни, це очевидний вплив ліберального виховання режисера Марка Стеха. Стех, як і всі актори АУТу (здебільша іммігранти з комуністичної

Польщі; мимоволі насувається питання, чому їх випустили?) в своїй націоналістичній індиферентності не визнає високого мистецького рівня затуркано-загумінково-розводнено-закостенілої української культури, яку ми з такими труднощами затримали в Вільному Світі.

Ці молоді радикали з АУТ тільки хочуть зміни, зміни, і ще раз зміни. Одним словом, вони хочуть забути все, що ми зуміли затримати з Краю.

Саме через ці загально ревізійністично-ліберально-антинаціонально-політично-українсько-північно-американські тенденції АУТ, являючись, що я ніколи не піду на їхню неморально-авангардну нову продукцію, яку я тут для попередження Шановних Читачів уже тепер рецензую. Cheatave consules!

Галактіон (Harry) Грубошкірський

Член-кореспондент НТЕС, маестро

CULTURE ÜBER ALLES (HOW TO PAY FOR YOUR PYSANKA WITH AN UNEMPLOYMENT CHEQUE)

The SUSK Western Conference, held annually with the intention of developing the 'Ukrainian student movement', has come and gone. Most of the participants (some veteran conference-goers, others new to the sport) returned home from Edmonton 'satisfied'. The conference was 'nice'. They heard several presentations on various aspects of the Ukrainian 'culture' in Canada, partied a bit and even got in a good dose of student politicking. Yet it is doubtful whether the conference had anything more than a fleeting impact on its participants.

Throughout the conference it became apparent that its theme, 'Culture in Context' (Ukrainian Canadians Today) did not lend itself well to concrete analysis and firm resolution. Instead it left one wondering (which is not a bad thing in itself) what is Ukrainian Canadian 'culture'. If it does indeed exist, and how is it expressed? Does buying a copy of 'Verovka' only if one has enough money left over after buying the newest 'BTO' album identify one as a participant in this cult? Does one become a Ukrainian by giving a 'Ukrainian' gift on birthdays, and at Christmas, instead of a paint-by-numbers kit, a pair of slippers or a subscription to Readers Digest? If one accepts the premise that a culture is something which affects one's daily life, and in all forms of one's existence, then could not the Ukrainian Canadian 'culture' be more appropriately termed the Ukrainian Canadian 'hobby'?

A dissenting voice was heard at the conference. During his presentation, Jars Balan appealed to Ukrainian students not to bury their heads in the sand of Ukrainian language and 'culture' but to take an active position on much weightier political, social and economic

issues in Canada and the world which directly affect them, perhaps even more than a Ukrainian Canadian 'culture'.

But in his roster of problems to be solved, Balan failed to mention the crucial problem of overpopulation and a booming birth rate in the Third World Countries, in which over half of the population is only now entering in to the period of fertility. Canada, with its history of immigrant settlement and despite government attempts to erect racial barriers, will at some point in the not too distant future be faced with an increasing inflow of people from these countries, where the economy cannot sustain even their present population (which will more than double within our lifetime). The Ukrainian Canadian 'culture' in fact is directly related to this problem in that one of the tasks of Ukrainians in Canada should be to establish the Ukrainian 'fact' as a viable part of the Canadian identity (which is still quite nebulous). In essence this means conclusively settling the issue of majority-minority relations. For if we don't do this, future immigrations will inevitably exacerbate present levels of racial tension and intolerance in Canada, which will be of benefit to nobody. The migration from the Third World has already started. England is already experiencing the 'legacy of the Empire' as East Indians and black Africans settle in its proud communities. And the British upper lip curls menacingly at the sight of a mosque on its 'prim and proper' streets — their 'blue blood' boils to the point of violence.

But Balan's point is well taken. The downfall of the Ukrainian community can be directly attributed to its 'ostrich-like' approach to issues of general concern. We, as members of the community at large must address

ourselves to these matters if our existence as a 'Ukrainian community' is to make any sense. For if the community is held together by little more than a pronounced 'anti-communism' and a vague sense of 'Ukrainianism' expressed in a slavish devotion to language and 'culture', then is there any basis for its continued existence? What is the 'Ukrainian community' and where does it stand on unemployment, Quebec, the RCMP and political repression in Chile? Would answering these questions explain why 'unity' among Ukrainians in Canada is more fiction than fact?

The tragedy of our community is that it has been polarized to an extreme between the 'anti-communist' nationalists and allegedly 'anti-capitalist' communist community. But people caught in the middle have nowhere to go. Those to the right of center are repulsed by both the 'leftist' stance of the Ukrainian 'communists' and the doctrinaire nationalism of the 'nationalists'. Those to the left of center are repulsed by both the 'rightist' stance of the Ukrainian 'nationalists' and the toadyish pro-Soviet position of the Ukrainian 'communists'. Neither of these alienated elements have anywhere to go and cannot function within the organized Ukrainian 'community'. Both are appalled that the community 'represents' them.

SUSK should not only address itself seriously to issues of general concern but should also cooperate fully with other 'aware' elements amongst Ukrainians in Canada in movements which have already started to create organizational forms which will allow a viable alternative to existent community structures, many of which are already on their deathbeds. For after SUSK, where does one go?

N.M.



"FINALLY, AFTER 5000 YEARS
UKRAINIANS' SYNTHESIZE CULTURE!"

THE UKRAINIAN STUDENT AND NESTOR MAKHNO

(v4 n16, January 1972)

In the course of the Ukrainian Political Theory Workshop, I have become aware of some interesting facts about Ukrainian history, the most interesting and disturbing of which is, that I and many others, knew less about our country's past than we deemed possible. It did not take me long to discover that my ten-years' experience of Ukrainian educational systems provided me with only a superficial and rather distorted image of Ukrainian history. I had a definite feeling of somehow having been cheated and manipulated, that the interpretation of Ukrainian history I had received was far from objective and encompassing in its perspective. It seemed as if there was a lot that had been deliberately left out. The truth of the matter is that the "Ukrainoznavstvo" one receives at any one of our overly-divided organizations is just as factionalized, biased, tendentious and impoverished as we all recognize these organizations to be. It is fundamentally a matter of intellectual honesty, integrity and truth in presenting ALL the facts of our people's history without subjecting them to semi-polemical, ultra-nationalistic misinterpretations and distortions. Furthermore, there is the damnation of silence, the conscious neglect of important people, movements and ideas in our political social and intellectual history. As students, we want to know ALL there is to know about our history. We want to be able to decide and evaluate for ourselves. Unfortunately, what we should know has already been decided for us. It is not so much a question of what we have been taught but of what we have not been taught. This form of indoctrination and censorship is aimed at depriving the Ukrainian student of the right to think independently, to weigh facts and perspectives and to arrive at his own conclusions about our confused history. We have been taught to accept, but not to think analytically. It is not surprising that many Ukrainian students learn more about their own history by studying that of Russia. A student's Ukrainian consciousness must, unfortunately, be stimulated outside our parochial educational systems.

Once the Ukrainian student becomes aware of the intellectual imprisonment imposed upon him, he has given himself the freedom and responsibility to free his mind from the narrow perspectives of many of our so-called educators. This can only be done by exposing oneself to new ideas and new experiences, by confronting the political realities of one's community and history, by putting it into some form of a conscious perspective. This awareness is both personal and political, for it implies and necessitates both the freedom and responsibility of thought and decision.

This awareness demands to know ALL the facts about our history and it is up to the student to obtain them. Read Hrushevsky, but also read Vernadsky, E.H. Carr and Trotsky. One would find it hard to believe that they are talking about the same thing. It is a simple matter of political perspective, but this awareness necessarily forces the Ukrainian student to reconsider his strictly narrative knowledge of Ukrainian history and to be much more analytic with the tendentious interpretations of our history. The facts of our history cannot be changed but the interpretations can and must be reassessed. Appreciating the fact that there is a profound lack of understanding about Ukrainian social, political, economic and intellectual history, the various



interpretations must be seen in the light or the darkness of their particular political perspective. This must be constantly kept in mind when dealing with any aspect of Ukrainian history and especially when attempting to come to grips with the many ill-known facts of the years of National Revolution 1917-1920. A full and proper understanding of this highly complex time cannot be explained simply in terms of Petliura, the Rada and the Proclamations of January 22nd, 1918, for the Ukraine was involved in both a national liberation movement and a social and political revolution. There is a profound lack of attention devoted to the social and political characteristics of the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle and the history of the nationalist movement is not the sole history of the period. The various forces operating in Ukraine during these years represent all shades of the political spectrum, ranging from the extreme right with feudal monarchists and hetmanites to centrist liberal republicans and democrats, to all parties of the left, such as bolsheviks, mensheviks, social revolutionaries and anarchists. Unfortunately, the Ukrainian student knows very little about the political breakdown of this period in Ukrainian history and there is much work to be done to fill this sorry vacuum in our historiography and our knowledge. What is worse is that he is actively discouraged from even attempting to learn more about the political forces of this period other than

those of the nationalist right. If it happened, we want to know about it. We must decide and think for ourselves.

One of the best examples of this is the intellectual persecution in the case of Nestor Makhno and the Anarchist movement during the Ukrainian Revolution. In my attempts to learn more about his relation to this period in Ukrainian history, I most often met with a wide variety of negative attitudes in the books and the people I consulted. The usual comment was sneering, "Why do you want to know anything about that bandit?" The simple fact that I just wanted to know seemed insufficient. The very hostile and emotional attitudes elicited just by the very name of the "black spirit" were often directed at me personally. One old man even threw me out of his store for invoking the memory of the black bandit. Yet once in a while I met some people who remembered Makhno as a sort of Ukrainian Robin Hood and they talked about him as the only man in those revolutionary times who cared at all about the common people. Clearly there are different criteria for assessing the role played by Makhno and the anarchists.

The controversy surrounding the otaman has been intensified by the lack of reliable and concrete information and this has served to increase the interest in the already legendary Bat'ko Makhno. Not surprisingly he is the subject of a number of literary works such as A Nikolaev's Nestor Makhno and Bat'ko Makhno and

most recently he figures in Honchar's Sobor (Kiev, 1968).

For all the interest and passions he arouses, there is remarkably little factual material to be had and in the case of Makhno, it is quite difficult to separate fact from legend. The few articles available reveal more about their authors' political and nationalistic biases than they do about Makhno and Anarchism. Most studies of the movement are openly polemical works by Bolsheviks or anarchists and Ukrainian material on Makhno is at best, hate literature. Ukrainian studies of Makhno are invariably evaluated strictly in terms of whether he supported or opposed the creation of a Ukrainian national state and the importance of his role in regards to the Independence Struggle itself. Even from this limited perspective, not all authors are in agreement for example:

In the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle, Makhno's role was so negative and destructive that he deserves only to be ignored." F. Meleshko.

"Bat'ko N. Makhno was a capable leader of the Zaporozhian faction of our National Liberation Movement and led an unceasing struggle against the enemies of our people, without surrendering under any circumstances, without betraying his people and without sparing his own strength or life." V. Dubrovsky.

However, if we are to come to a political analysis of Ukrainian revolutionary history, it would be a mistake to evaluate it in terms of the national independence movement alone, for this perspective refuses to take into account those forces operating within the context of political and social revolution. This nationalist form of historical interpretation operates solely within a middle class political and conceptual framework. It is only a measure of the paucity of political analysis of Ukrainian history. It is absurd to deal with Makhno, an ideologically committed anarchist in terms of his relation to the creation of a Ukrainian state. His political and personal philosophy was anti-theoretical to groups seeking to set up a state of any type regardless of what his own national self-identification might be.

Makhno himself was a russified peasant with a background of primitive and spontaneous anarchistic revolutionary activity dating from 1905. His imprisonment in Moscow's Butyrka prison exposed him to Russian anarchists who effectively entrenched his cultural Russification. His spontaneous peasant rebelliousness was given form in a primitive understanding of an anarchist political philosophy that was culturally Russian. It is ridiculous to think of Makhno as culturally Ukrainian and it is thus impossible to ascribe to him any kind of a role in the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle. His center of operation was Huliai-Pole, overwhelmingly Ukrainian in population, but close to the Russified centers of Katerynoslav and Oleksandrovsk, which were the backbone of the culturally Russian and predominantly urban form of intellectual anarchism in the Ukraine. Makhno was a brilliant guerrilla tactician but an ideologist he was not. His limited conception of anarchist theory was shaped through his association with the Nabal group of anarchists, most of whom were from Moscow. These Russian anarchists dismissed the question of nationalism as irrelevant in the face of the more important

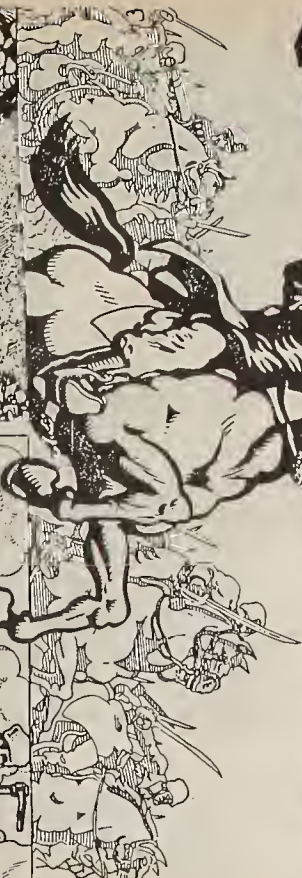
questions of the quality of social and political life. Like his mentors, Makhno was interested only in social revolution, not in a search for national consciousness. To him Ukrainian consciousness was only another bourgeois ideology to be combatted. The anarchists in Ukraine suffered from a total non-perception of the problem of Ukrainian consciousness. It did not fit into their theoretical categories except under the headings of "socialist chauvinists" and "bourgeois reactionaries". The distinction between political activity for a Ukrainian state and the mere assertion of one's linguistic-national identity as Ukrainian was very vague during this period. This was especially true in Katerynoslav Gubernia, where Ukrainian political and cultural life was particularly underdeveloped. To assert oneself as "Ukrainian" at this time was a political position in itself, which in Makhno's limited theoretical framework was viewed as a bourgeois political movement of the village intelligentsia. Makhno's anarchism and Ukrainian nationalism were simply diametrically opposed to each other. Between Makhno who placed all stress on the needs of social revolution and the Ukrainian forces who placed great emphasis on Ukrainian cultural and national aspirations, there could be no common ground.

An interesting fact is the attempted Ukrainianization of the Makhnovschyna, for the need to communicate with the Ukrainian peasant masses, which constituted the majority of Makhno's following, was an obvious necessity. Ironically, the leader of this attempted Ukrainianization was Makhno's wife, Halyna Kuz'menko. Unfortunately, her efforts and those of other Ukrainian anarchist intellectuals would not overcome the powerful influence of the Bat'ko's Dostoyevskian personality. While Makhno appears to have given little thought to his own national identity or the Ukrainian re-awakening during the Revolutionary Period, he did so while in emigration in Paris. He came to see himself as an Ukrainian anarchist and believed that it would be necessary for any future anarchist movement in Ukraine to be culturally Ukrainian in order to secure mass support.

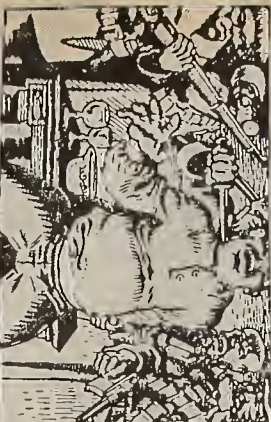
Clearly when dealing with Makhno one must be aware of his political philosophy, his cultural background and the underdeveloped state of political and national consciousness of those times. The Makhnovschyna was more in the tradition of spontaneous, peasant rebellions of Stenka Razin and Pugachov, for the political awareness of the peasant following was non-existent and Makhno himself was no more than a primitive rebel with an elementary anarchist education. When trying to analyze the diverse political and social realities of national revolution in Ukraine, we must avoid making the facile judgements that abound in most of our historical material. It is much easier to bend the truth than to straighten it. Makhno is only an extreme example of such superficial and inadequate analysis, which appears all too frequently in the span of a student's formal Ukrainian education. As a case in point, it is not simply a question of Makhno the Bat'ko or the Bandit, but of Makhno the fact.

Roman Semenowycz,
4th Year Student
Political Science,
University of Toronto.

NESTOR MAKHNO



THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION OF 1917 GAVE EXPRESSION TO FORCES, LONG PENT UP IN RUSSIA OTHER THAN THE BOLSHEVIKS. IN THAT PART OF THE UKRAINE



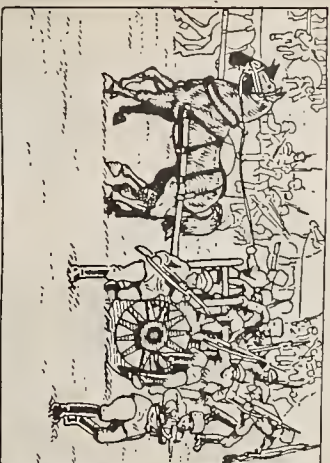
ASSEMBLING A GUERRILLA ARMY, NESTOR MAKHNO HARASSED GERMAN BACKED LAND OWNERS, OFTEN USING ENEMY DISGUISES TO FIRST OBTAIN THEIR HOSPITALITY



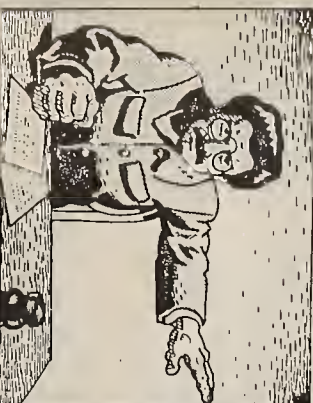
CEDED BY THE BREST-LITOVSK TREATY, THE HAPAT CONFEDERATION DECLARED ITS SELF-DETERMINATION AND DIVIDED THE LANDED ESTATES AMONG THE PEASANTS



FINALLY A GERMAN DIVISION SENT TO SUBDUCE HIM WENT DOWN TO DEFEAT. HE THEN SWEEP NORTH REPLACING BOLSHEVIK COMMISSARS WITH LIBERTARIAN COMMUNES



SOON AFTERWARD, UTILIZING MILITARY INNOVATIONS, LIKE TRANSPORTING INFANTRY IN LIGHT PEASANT CARTS, HE STOPPED THE INVADING WHITE ARMIES OF DENIKIN



HIS UNORTHODOX TACTICS SUCCEEDED IN DEFEATING DENIKIN BUT TROTSKY ORDERED THE IMPRISONMENT OF ANARCHIST ELEMENTS. MAKHNO HELD OUT FOR



AFTER VICTORY, MAKHNO'S LEADERS WERE INVITED TO A CONFERENCE IN CRIMEA WHERE, ALL, EXCEPT AN ESCAPING CAVALRY UNIT, WERE ARRESTED OR SHOT. MAKHNO AND



WHILE IN THEORY ORGANIZED DEMOCRATICALLY THE ARMY WAS RUN WITH A TIGHT FISTED DISCIPLINE BY HIMSELF AND HIS INNER COMMAND



NINE MONTHS UNTIL THE INVASION OF WRANGEL, ON THE SOVIET PROMISE TO FREE ANARCHIST PRISONERS HE JOINED THEM TO SMASH THE LAST WHITE INVASION



HIS MEN FOUGHT ON FOR A FEW MONTHS, AT FIRST THEY SCORED VICTORIES BUT FINALLY HE FLED TO PARIS WHERE IN 1935, HE DIED OF CHRONIC ALCOHOLISM

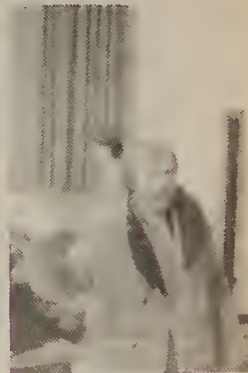
“ОБІРВАНІ КРИЛА”



Батьківшино — тебе світськими дурять.

Павом народив ти є і папугою, а тепер служиш комусь. Птах з обірваним крилом. “Обірвані крила” — символ чи правда. А може штука розказує про конкретності погоджування з чимсь поганим, що ставалося з дня на день смислим, чимсь безнадійним, трагічним. В світі повного зла ходять люди. Появляються на сцені невідомо звідкіль, неокреслені, загублені, самотні. Кожен з них зачислений у своєму здегенерованому епосі. Чого вони шукають? Може батьківщини?

Добре, добре, панове і шані — кричучи як завжди в небоголюсії. Тільки спокійно, усе вернеться до норми. Параграф за параграфом. Крик до горла, золоті зуби до ясел, дим до фабричних коминів і далі до середини вижолблених зі шпiku костей, котрі знова обростуть м'язами і оживуть. Тоді жиніть собі, сидіть спокійно в салони читаючи вечірню газету. Все відстанеться. А що до зірлих, — буде вірвана з грудей і вилітає до неба. Алюзії біблійні, символічні, способи розуміння є індивідуальною справою кожного з нас. Вертеп — невідлучний символ українства від найдавніших часів. Так як бандура, одинока річ, якої ніхто нам не може забрати. Вертеп є також першою формою театру в Україні.



На сцені творяться явища, які можна цілковито об'єктивізувати, висувати всякі гіпотези, компенсувати з всяких точок зору.

Але є явища, в стосунку до яких об'єктивна обсервація є неможливою. “Йдіть на Вавилу, Заходьте в кожну хату”.

Слова наклику ангела піддержують.

ють вертеп і йдуть, йдуть через Україну, йдуть через її історію, через нашу актуальну сучасність, йдуть через критику, через надію, віру в себе, віру в відродження. Йдуть з колядою сумною, але якже нашою.

“Обірвані крила” — це п'єса про людей, які не можуть, не потрапляють, не хотять бігти з іншими. Може тому фабула акції бжить до безнадійного кінця. На ґрунті могили історії родиться нове, молоде, премоасне. Твориться епітафієм для нас і для світу, якій не може вже ніколи вмерти.

“Обірвані крила” — спектакль підготовлений Авангардним Українським театром, прем'єра якого відбулася 9-го і 11-го січня. Виступ “Вертепу” відбувся в Дистроїті 18-го січня і відбудеться знов у Торонті 7-го і 8-го лютого.

Requiem for Stus

(v18 n86, October 1985)

Olena Wawryshyn

On Sunday, September 29th, a group of citizens concerned with human rights gathered at Nathan Phillips Square to participate in a memorial ceremony for poet and human rights activist Vasyl Stus. This solemn event was sponsored by the Ukrainian Students' Club at the University of Toronto, along with the World Congress of Free Ukrainians and the Inter-religious Task Force.

The news of Stus' death on September 4th was a distress to members of the Ukrainian community as well as to all others who have followed the life of this dissident poet. In the early 1960's, Vasyl Stus was a renowned writer and literary critic in the U.S.S.R. His works were widely published until he began to speak out against the Soviet government for its persecution of his fellow writers such as Vyacheslav Chornovil, Sviatoslav Karavansky and Ivan Dzyba. In 1972, Vasyl Stus was first arrested on charges of “anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda”. When he died,



Merko Stech reads Stus' poetry at City Hall.

Stus was serving the fifth year of a ten year labour camp term. The cause of his death is believed to be general emaciation which resulted from many years of ill-health brought about by the harsh conditions in the labour camp.

Members of the Ukrainian Students' Club such as Zenon Waschuk, the Human Rights Director, felt that the loss of this great Ukrainian poet should not go unmentioned.

Therefore, the Students' Club, along with the World Congress of Free Ukrainians and the Inter-religious Task Force, a group which concerns itself with human rights injustices, put together a program in memory of Vasyl Stus.

Halyna Benesh, a member of the Ukrainian Students' Club, introduced each of the speakers who had been invited to participate in the program. The first guest, Marco Caryn-

nyk, an editor and writer, spoke about Stus' life and his literary works. Next, Marguerite Andersen, a member of Pen International, which is composed of writers who watch out for abuses against other writers in the world, spoke of Stus' unfortunate plight. She was saddened by Stus' death, as her organization had concerned itself with the injustices against Stus by the Soviet government. She said that she hopes that his death “will inspire the fight for others.” The following speaker was Joy Hisey, a poet and lyricist, and a representative of the Inter-religious Task Force. Hisey has been very involved with the fate of Soviet dissidents. At the ceremony for Stus, she read two of her own poems, one about the Gulags, the other about death, which she dedicated to Vasyl Stus. After her reading, Mr. Britton, an actor, and member of Amnesty International, recited six of Vasyl Stus' poems in English translation. A reading of Stus' poetry in Ukrainian was done

by Marco Stech, a member of the Ukrainian Students' Club. After this, a memorial service (panakhida) was held in memory of Vasyl Stus. A choir of students led the singing.

The group assembled at the ceremony was not very large, comprised of only about 300 people, but it was sincere. Zenon Waschuk, one of the event's main organizers, said he was satisfied by the turnout, but was disappointed that the event received little media coverage by the city's main media sources. A courageous defender of human rights and talented poet such as Stus deserved greater recognition in the western world. Perhaps the community did not adequately publicize, or show enough interest in Stus while he was alive.

There are still, unfortunately, many other human rights defenders in Soviet prisons. We may best now serve the memory of Stus by remembering the remaining martyrs scattered in the Gulag.

(v8 n31, January 1975)

ЯК Я МАЛЮЮ

Спонука, яка первісно викликає дію, втрачає в робочому процесі своє значення. Виринають інші площини свідомості, все логічне й раціональне унедієнюється. У наш час є наявне все в нашій свідомості. Тим часом, як я "знаходжуся" коло предметів, укладаю їх у структуру образу, я переживаю драматичні конфронтації, а також ідосагаю гармонійних співзвучностей, заглиблююся в розвиток й еволюцію маєрії, прискорюю їх процес вивершення. У цій співгрі або конфронтації матерії й духа розкриваються нові, несподівані форми вислову. Невідоме просвітлюється, дотепер не існуюче стає ясним. Створення суб'єктивної, тепер наявної істини вимагає інтеграції й піднесення на один рівень мистця, інструменту й матеріалу. З цієї рівноправної синтези витворюються нові можливості, щоб подолати наявні вихідні пункти. У динамічному прагненні до руху, до акції, у нашому нев-

томному прагненні до від-шому вислові. Медитація й крить ми пізнаємо взаємо-концентрація перед постав'язання в природі. У її лим, щоб з неспоричності й застилий формі, виломані з спокою спроектувати на то-природного циклу, ми піз-му невідкично вичаклопа-наємо істини нашого ста-ну формулу. Шрифт. Сим-новлення.

Речі, матерія, фарби — лання й розуміння матерії, в розкладені, перекриті, ви-ї природному, але й позна-стругані, розірвані, переші-ченому впливом людини цитховані. Я розрізую полот-клів руху.

Я підношу творчу дію до ритуалу, 'посталий твір — до продлктву, який залишає глядачеві все відкритим, ви-прийомі я працюю фізично.

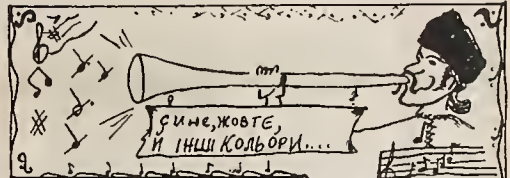
На зміну автоматичному, медитативному, несвідомо-му процесові малювання приходить надсвідомий кон-троль.

Народження образу стає ритуалом. Банальні предме-ти, 'все схопне — стає одно-часно знаряддям і матерія-лом. Прискорити постійну зміну матерії, перетопити її в її суперечностях, упоряд-кувати у відповідності про-тсору й часу її хаотичний стан, переформувати, щоб вона застигла в її найясні-

Я малюю не на те, щоб постале зрозуміти чи знайти щось в готовому творі. Свої-ми картинами й об'єктами я ставлю нові вихідні пункти, висвваю нові питання. Цей текст пекеклає з ні-в її суперечностях, упоряд-кувати у відповідності про-тсору й часу її хаотичний вересень 1974 р.

Ігор Кордюк

I AM CURIOUS (blue & yellow) ?



At this time, one aspect of our culture — drama — has taken a progressive step in evolution. A modern play, a Ukrainian rock musical has been written.

The play, written by Borys Budnij, is entitled "Synye, Zhovte i Inshi Koliory" and takes the form of a satirical comedy on Ukrainians and their history. Taking part in the musical are six male and six female performers. Each actor plays himself, using his own name and character in a group therapy-sensitivity session approach. Within this type of atmosphere, various problems associated with Ukrainian youth in our community are brought up and discussed — the communication gap between generations, the social gap between the sexes, the effect of the modern youth culture on Ukrainian youth, the senselessness of many of our squabbles and disagreements.

In addition, each actor plays a cameo role as an historical figure from the time of Kniiahynia Olha to the present day. In each case, cryptic comments on the achievements of the personages are presented, thereby providing various insights which may explain why we are the way we are.

Within the play, are twenty unique Ukrainian rock songs, composed by Zenon Lawryshyn, again providing satirical and critical comment on our present social, political and cultural problems.

— Jerry Fitchko

(v4 n14, October 1971)



Mars 1970

TARAS SHEVCHENKO MEETS MARSHALL McLUHAN

Each year student groups talk about commemorating Taras Shevchenko in a manner different and more meaningful from the standard, academic methods of the past — and each year little or nothing is done in this direction. Not so in the Ukrainian Students' Federation in Ottawa: On Friday evening, March 20 the setting was a comfortable lounge at Carleton University. About 150 people awaited the beginning of this year's programme in leisurely conversation. Informality was the keystone and imagination the mortar in building of this entertaining and informative evening.

Joanne Medvidsky stood before the guests and addressed them in English, outlining the life of Shevchenko — clear, concise, informative. Next, Lesia Pritz discussed, in Ukrainian, the many facets of Shevchenko's genius, stressing his life as a painter and graphic artist — a student of art emulating a master and idol — thought-provoking and interesting.

The lights dim, music rises and a blurred image is projected on a screen: the evening's climax begins. Bohdanka Tsmots and Borys Budney set out to convey the relevance of Shevchenko to us, the living of today — the yet unborn of Shevchenko's day. Some of the audience is bewildered, others squirm in discomfort, still others nod from time to time... the finger is pointed at everyone, there is a message for all and its reality is not a comfort to any of us. The main message is that our values are out of whack. We tolerate assimilation in sacrifice for personal wealth. The message is strong, direct, unavoidable and most certainly disturbing.

The evening was, understandably, received with mixed emotion. Everyone openly praised the first two parts of the programme, however, comments on the montage were often expressed with downcast eyes.

Молодий авангард

(v16 n80, January 1984)

П'ятого й шостого листопада й вісімнадцятого грудня Авангардний Український Театр (АУТ) виставив свою першу продукцію "Вечір у тюрмі" у Торонто. "Вечір у тюрмі" — це монтаж віршів різних переслідуваних українських письменників від Шевченка до наших часників.

Тюрма, про яку йде мова в програмі, це не тільки фізична совєтська або царська тюрма, в якій українські дисиденти мучилися, але також моральна й психічна тюрма, в якій перебуває людство. В першій частині програми, "Мистецтво" представлені чисто ліричні поезії, які розглядають життя крізь призму мистецтва. В другій частині, "В тюрмі", представлені праці бунту й протиставлення фізичному й умовному ув'язненню. Остання частина, "Собор", складається з найбільш досконалих праць авторів, в яких письменники висловлюють своє вже не буденне зрозуміння життя.

Учасники вистави були розкинані на сцені й перед сценою на крилах, або й просто сиділи на краю сцени. При світлі тільки кільканадцяти свічок. Вони декламували з пам'яті або читали твори ув'язнених при супроводі фортепіяна, скрипки, флейти й різних звукових ефектів. Особливо слід відмітити пісні Миколи Горбала, що їх, мабуть вперше в Північній Америці, виконали

Тереса Некеруї й Гражина та Анна Мелехи.

Саме в цій формі монтажу режисер Марко Стех, сам аматор, знайшов найліпше поле для попису для своєї аматорської групи, в більшості мовоприніли українські студенти з Польщі.

З уваги на велике число представлених творів було неможливо всі тексти докладно зрозуміти й передумати, але в цій продукції атмосфера була важливішою ніж стопроцентове зрозуміння текстів. Стара зала Народного Дому, свічки й музика злилися з виступами, щоб створити атмосферу, яка нагадувала європейські кавярні 30-их років.

Хоч виступи були ласкаво, але не аж надто ентузіастично сприйняті торонтською публікою, на жаль форма була деяким глядачам недоступна. Ці глядачі пропонували більшу залу зі світлами й мікрофонами.

Як признався сам режисер, ця імпреза була далекою від авангарду сучасного, але з часом можна надіятися, що АУТ навчить і своїх учасників і громаду приймати більше авангардизму.

З приходу і своїх виступів АУТ (тепер на грані розколу з Науковим Товариством ім. Едварда Стріха) пожертвував \$400.00 на потреби Канадсько-Української Іміграційної Служби.

Нестор Микитин



photograph by N. Mykyvyn

(v12 n60, January 1980)

Jars Balan

CUP Welcomes STUDENT

With an almost unanimous vote in the affirmative, followed by a round of generous applause, delegates at the 42nd Annual Conference of the Canadian University Press (CUP) welcomed the Kvas Society publication *Student* into their inky fold.

The decision was the climax of a year-and-a-half long courtship between the paper and the umbrella organization, which represents most of the student newspapers at universities and community colleges across Canada. Delegates from as far afield as British Columbia and Newfoundland were quick to express their congratulations and best wishes to *Student* representative Jars Balan, who attended the 26 December to 3 January gathering at the Westbury Hotel in Toronto. Expected opposition to *Student's* entry into the national body — from Communist Party (CPC) sympathizers who object to *Student's* coverage of events in the Soviet Union — failed to materialize in the discussion on the planetary floor.

The normal motion granting

full membership (by *The Varsity*) did, however, stipulate that the paper's performance be reviewed at next year's national conference, which is to be held in either Montreal or Lennoxville, Quebec. Some concern was also expressed by the Membership Commission regarding the paper's ability to pay its annual CUP fee, which will go up from the \$382 that was assessed in 1979-80 when *Student* was only a prospective member. These fears were allayed, however, by a positive report from CUP western region fieldworker Nancy McRitchie, and a cautiously optimistic account of *Student's* plans for the future.

Student's admission into the organization was but one of the recommendations made by the hard-working Membership Commission; in another more difficult decision, they urged the expulsion of a troubled University of Toronto paper, the *Grad Post*. Nor was the original intention to grant *Student* full membership: initially, National Executive members reviewing the paper's application had

Jus' stayin' alive

Student: It's sink or swim!

Having survived a serious cash flow crisis, weathered several political storms and finally overcome its chronic distribution problems, *Student* has once again resumed publication on a regular monthly schedule. Although the paper is not yet entirely out of danger, a new mood of optimism is buoying the collective and prospects look bright for the immediate future.

The past few months have been among the most difficult in *Student's* Edmonton history. A lack of new recruits, coupled with the erosion of the committed core of workers, burdened a small band of stalwarts with all of the tasks and responsibilities involved in publishing the paper. Though four issues were printed by January, a complete breakdown at the distribution end of the operation kept two of them from getting out to most of the readers. An attempt was made over Christmas, using paid secretaries and collective know-how, to update and computerize the chaotic *Student* mailing lists, but this effort ended in costly failure. A lack of funds, human energy, new ideas and fresh commitment further contributed towards a problem of low morale and a build-up of tensions within and without the collective.

The tide began to turn, however, when the two vacant positions on the co-ordinating committee were finally filled by two veteran activists. Dave Lupul took on the finance committee portfolio in mid-December, easing the workload that had been shouldered until then single-handedly by Peter Sochan. And former SUSK President Dmytro Jacuta came in from the cold in March to take on the distribution bull by the horns.

An influx of revenue from Koliada, Malanka, a government grant and a benefit, staved off fears of immediate financial collapse and gave some momentum to the paper's struggle to survive the darkest months of winter. Then a whirlwind effort on the part of the new distribution head, Dmytro Jacuta, got the *Student* subscription lists into a computer (this time a private firm was hired) and the two back issues into the mail. After reliving the nightmare of labelling and sorting, it was finally decided to turn out that aspect of the mail-out to a professional service run by handicapped people. For minimal cost collective members

recommended that it be given "special subscriber" status. This would have meant that to all of the services offered by CUP (news exchanges, educational workshops, fieldworker visits) without being given the vote or the right to make motions at conferences. Acting on the suggestions of delegates and after consultations with staffers in Edmonton, the paper decided to make a bid for full membership status in the belief that only the vote would enable *Student* to fully enter into the mainstream of the student press in Canada. Without the vote, *Student* would be forced to work through sympathetic intermediaries whenever it wanted to launch initiatives or exert an influence within the organization.

Delegates agreed with this position, and the outcome of the final vote was never really in question as the way was first paved by two constitutional amendments (moved by the University of Lethbridge Melford and seconded by the University of Alberta's Gateway) that were necessary

spared themselves hours of tedious labour and guaranteed that the job would be done in a single day rather than getting dragged out over a week or longer. The lists still need to be revised and updated, but these details are going to be looked after as soon as exams are completed.

Other positive developments in recent months include numerous improvements made to the *Student* offices and their emergence as a focal point for various social, cultural and political activities. Parties have been well-attended and the facilities are slowly becoming a drop-in centre for a widening circle of young people who come by to visit, study or help out with the consumption of assorted intoxicants. Whether or not these "friends of *Student*" will become committed members of the working collective still remains to be seen, but at least some new people are showing an interest in the paper's continued existence. Part of the problem in finding "new blood" has been the virtual non-existence of a Ukrainian Students' Club on the U of A campus this past year, hopefully, organizational life will revive in the fall and provide *Student* with a base to recruit from.

Despite these and other changes for the better, much work remains to be done and many obstacles have yet to be overcome before *Student's* future is secure. In many ways, the paper is like a small business at the crossroads between success and oblivion: it can either become more efficient, more professional and more attractive to new recruits, or it can fold due to lack of money and commitment. Readers, however, can play an important role in ensuring *Student's* survival by assisting the paper in a variety of ways, and therefore need not feel helpless in the difficult process of revitalization.

As an injection of funds is desperately needed if *Student* is to continue publishing in the summer months, readers are urged to make an immediate contribution towards the press fund. Donations, however, will only be of short-term assistance and thus potential advertisers are also encouraged to come forward with single or reduced-rate series ads. Although the paper has been running the slick advertisements it receives

through a service of the Canadian University Press, the revenues from this source are not enough to cover the cost of printing each issue. Rates are more reasonable than the large corporate ads would suggest, and are available upon request with *Student's* finance committee.

Another important way that readers can help financially is by recruiting new subscribers and giving gift subscriptions to friends and family members. A sub drive is being planned to build up *Student's* subscription base, but new readers are more than welcome to sign up now, especially if they've already been getting complimentary copies of the paper.

Of course, it is also possible to participate in *Student* by sending in articles and column items to content committee chairperson Jars Balan. Though submissions from students naturally get special consideration, "students of life and the Ukrainian community" may also submit material that might be of interest to *Student* readers. Articles should be typed or very neatly written with double spaces between lines and ample margins for convenience editing. For submissions to appear in the earliest possible issue, they must be in by the seventh of the month to allow sufficient time for consideration and preparation for publication.

Finally, Edmonton-area students and young people are also strongly encouraged to get involved with the paper by contacting a collective member or showing an active interest in working on *Student*. New recruits are absolutely essential if the paper is to continue publishing in Edmonton, and a move at this time seems evermore unlikely and problematic. The increasing size and sophistication of the *Student* operation has raised doubts in the minds of many of the people who work on it as to the feasibility of it migrating to another part of the country. But these and other issues will have to be fully discussed at the annual meeting, which will be held in conjunction with the SUSK Congress in Winnipeg at the end of August. Any groups interested in taking on the responsibility of publishing *Student* in the upcoming year should begin preparing their bid now and make their intentions known at the earliest possible date. Otherwise, *Student*-niks should come to the annual meeting with their ideas, advice, compliments and complaints, so that they can help shape the future direction of Canada's only newspaper for Ukrainian students.

Not all of the conference activities, however, were quite so serious or devoted to business. The *Chevron*, expelled at the last national conference after three years of often bitter debating, provided considerable excitement and entertainment by showing up to protest the decision. A motion at the first session encouraged them to leave the conference, but they continued to hand out leaflets and skirmish with the National Executive throughout the week-long gathering. Delegates, of course, also partied and socialized in the best of CUP's festive tradition, celebrating the New Year a total of six times as the magic hour of midnight was reached in each of the time zones across the country. There was much toasting, taking and singing of *Solidarity Forever*, and generally a good time was had by all.

Volodymyr Koskovich

(v14 n77, April 1982)



During the days of the first Ukrainian migration to Canada there were a few active souls who realized the impact of comics. Their realization led to the publication of Ukrainian comics in a comic strip form. These comics first appeared in the prairies around 1925 but their content is not restricted to a particular time, place or people.

The comic strips appeared under two titles: Vyuko Steve and Nasha Mary. The Vyuko Steve strip is hilarious. It starts with Vyuko Stepan leaving the old country and coming to Canada to become the one and only Vyuko 'Steve'. From there it follows his adventures in a free country — how he works for the big Boss, gets fired, impresses the rich yokels and goes through one affair after another, laughing his head off. But the humour takes even a wilder turn when Vyuko Steve's "kobita" comes from the old country.

Throughout all of Vyuko's adventures one sees depicted the life of a Ukrainian immigrant. Each adventure deals with the problems of assimilation, of starting a new life, of politics, of alcohol and of marriage, all from the vantage point of social humour that is instructive as well as hilarious.

The other strip, Nasha Mary, deals with the assimilation and life of the first generation — Ukrainian Canadian. This strip, if compared to the Vyuko Steve one, is like a giggle compared to a loud laugh. Nasha Mary is much simpler in form and its development of characters and ideas is very limited. However it is witty in its portrayal of the sophisticated first generation Ukrainian Canadian as compared to their (supposedly) backward immigrant parents.

Both strips were put out in a book in 1930 by the National Press in Winnipeg and were drawn and written by Y. Maydanyka. The original copies are presently located in the cultural and educational section of Oseredok in Winnipeg at 184 Alexander. The excellence of these comics is particularly evident when one views them as historical documents of the life of the Ukrainian-Canadian immigrant. If you would like to get a hold of them for your own personal use, then

write to STUDENT and we will reprint more than just these two samples which we hope will wet your appetite.

UKRAINIAN COMICS: A POSSIBLE REALITY

On the whole, Ukrainian society has ignored comics, although it has used humorous, political and satirical cartoons to good advantage. This negligence is due to the fact that Ukrainian society has not realized the large impact that comics can make on a given society; they can be used to educate the people and to spread trends among them. This is why comics are so popular among developing cultures

learning to read and write) that can be easily assimilated through comics, comes to Ukrainian society in Canada from the North American culture. It is for this reason that Ukrainians tend to repress comics because, even though Ukrainians constitute a part of North American culture they are not totally involved in it. Ukrainian society in Canada has unfortunately not understood the assets of comics. (There is no such animal as a Ukrainian comic strip today.) Their different language and cultural background forces them to follow different cultural trends. However Ukrainians should take a closer look at comics, for at worst

is that the use of North American communication mediums is not alienating if it is used in a way that stimulates development. The best example of this is Titka Kvika — a half hour cable television show in Ukrainian, that is so stimulating that Ukrainian children rarely fail to watch it.

Still these realizations do not solve the problem but they can indicate the road to reaching solutions. The following are some general guidelines:

1. Anyone who is seriously interested in the development of Ukrainian Canadian culture should become acquainted with mediums that stimulate and help develop the individual.

2. Anyone who is interested in promoting the use of Ukrainian in communications media should pressure for more government funds, or in other words hold the government to its multicultural promise.

3. Anyone who is interested in developing communications media within a Ukrainian context should start active fund raising campaigns based on maximum return for every cent invested.

4. Anyone who is Ukrainian and is not interested in Ukrainian communications media should be brought to task by being shown STUDENT, by being made to listen to Ukrainian radio programmes and the like. There should also be a larger forum of discussion about the effect of communications on community development.

5. Anyone who is interested in the development of Ukrainian comics should write to the present comic companies and start pressuring them for Ukrainian translations of their comics. This is a very effective tactic because comic companies are only too glad to translate their comics into different languages in order to meet the demands of the public. In fact Superman is translated into fifty languages and one more certainly would not hurt. Also it would be a good idea to demand comic strips in the Ukrainian papers that are more than just a rerun of Tarzan. A change from the usual would most definitely be a step in the right direction.

UKRAINIAN COMICS: A REALITY

by Bohdan Chomiak

as well as the North American society in general. These people find comics useful, informative and stimulating. In fact comics are so effective in spurring someone to read, that the Canadian government is using them to educate Eskimos because Eskimos prefer reading comics to reading books. Thus, comics are beneficial in that they serve an educational purpose, something books have trouble doing simply because no one wants to bother reading them.

All this means that Ukrainian children are not given any opportunity to assimilate Ukrainian through comics. Any idea or educational process (such as

they can prove to be an entertaining diversissement.

SOUL SEARCHING AND TRANSCENDENTAL SOLUTIONS

Now, why haven't Ukrainians got Ukrainian comics? Is it that they do not believe that they can use a North American medium to represent their social processes without becoming alienated?

The answer to the first question is that the publication of Ukrainian comics or comic strips requires a certain amount of talent, initiative and money, and although Ukrainians have the talent and the initiative, it is the government that has the money. The answer to the second question is yes, they fear alienation. What they do not realize



The Tourist Cookbook: a

The following article is a compilation of three articles, "The Tourist Cookbook", "The Tourist Cookbook II", and "The Tourist Cookbook III" which appeared in the summer 1972, 1973, and 1974 issues respectively of *New Directions*. As some of our readers may be planning a trip to Ukraine this summer we felt that some of the advice given in this Cookbook may come in handy during their visit. The first two parts of the Cookbook were written by the same group of anonymous people, while the third was written by a second group which had attempted to implement the first two parts. Perhaps some student traveller's experiences this summer could serve as the basis for a Tourist Cookbook IV.

On making your trip to Ukraine a memorable military piece de resistance

A tourist handbook for militant Ukrainians visiting Ukraine.

This is, to say the least, a most unusual tourist guide and handbook for young Ukrainians who plan to visit Ukraine in the near future. Having observed the behavior of many tourists in Ukraine we have come to the inescapable conclusion that most of them don't have the faintest notion of what is going on around them. Therefore, the publication of this "cookbook" has been decided upon. In it, we hope to arouse youthful passions, give some practical hints on viewing and coping with the sights and raise the blood pressure of each and every KGB agent in charge of young "impressible" Ukrainian tourists in Ukraine.

The combination of reduced airfares to Europe and increased affluence among Ukrainian emigres will predictably culminate in more tourist pilgrimages to Ukraine. Many young Ukrainians will finally be exposed to the country about which they have heard so much. Looking for a preserved mythical "shrine" rather than a living country, they will search in vain for houses with thatched roofs and be dismayed that the hopak is not being danced constantly on the Khreschatyk in Kiev. In essence these young people who visit Ukraine are in for many cultural shocks, and this "cookbook" is geared to prepare them for these strange but true experiences. It is also designed to bring misery and indignation to the headquarters of the KGB on Volodymyr street in Kiev.

Taking for granted the fact that most young Ukrainians in the west have been under the careful tutelage of proper parents, and are equipped with a well-rounded parochial school background, it is indeed very difficult to turn them into political activists on their two or three week tour of Ukraine. Despite all that they have heard of the situation in Ukraine, the grim and proper attitudes of their upbringing have done much to defeat any aggressiveness in their nature. Even the mere suggestion that they make pests of themselves in Ukraine (it not hard core "outsider agitators") is repulsive to most. But — try we must.

THE LURE OF UKRAINE

Why do young Ukrainians travel to Ukraine? The reasons for visiting the motherland vary from individual to individual. Many are persuaded to go by their parents to visit relatives (mostly ancient grandmothers, aunts and uncles, remote from their personal lives and who don't really care if they ever see them or not), bring them 6-15 quidly decorated scarves and sit around tables gorging themselves with food. Other tourists go to see "the old country," to look at St. George's Cathedral in Lviv, St. Sophia in Kiev, the statue of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and various other historical and cultural monuments. This group looks, photographs, and returns home with the sole intent of boring friends with slides of St. Sophia, etc., etc. Some heroic individuals will sneak away to a village, (dressed up as a "typical" Ukrainian peasant of course) and return to the U.S. with hair-raising stories of how they identified the whole party and state apparatus by getting into a taxicab in Lviv, with a scarf wrapped around their head and seeing some forsaken village in Lvivsk oblast. If you find yourself in one of these categories, use this pamphlet for wrapping fish; then protest at the same time that you are indeed a Ukrainian patriot, that you really do care about what is happening in Ukraine, but you have a job, children, an old grandmother in Mukachevo, school, a boy friend or girl friend, you hold a sensitive job waiting tables in Orchidia, etc., etc. If so, this pamphlet is definitely not for you. No hard feelings, but a job is important.

Going to Ukraine can not only be a gratifying personal experience, it can also bring some points home to the USSR authorities, by showing the regime that young Ukrainians are dissatisfied with the current policies of russification and persecution. And above all, tourism is the perfect way of raising some havoc, of agitating for change of informing Ukrainians in Ukraine of what is happening in the west. The opportunities for spreading propaganda in Ukraine are open to anyone with imagination and guts, but if your father is a former member of a revolutionary organization (or still considers himself a revolutionary) he will protest vehemently, tell you that you are crazy, under new left influence that you might be arrested, and that your whole family will be deported to Siberia for your foolish action. Therefore, don't tell your parents that you intend to make a nuisance of yourself in Kiev, Lviv, Ternopil, Uzhhorod, etc. Just go ahead and do it.

THE GOOD GUYS AND THE BAD GUYS

To make this cookbook a bit orderly, sections are provided for the various and sundry institutions you might or definitely will run into during your stay in Ukraine. But first a few words about the people themselves.

Contrary to popular belief, not every Ukrainian in Ukraine is a "low-down nasty commie." There are good Ukrainians even "commies," and there are bad Ukrainians, some of the bad ones are not party members, strange as that might seem. You will most likely be exposed to both species, and it is up to your good judgment to distinguish the good guys from the bad. There are no score cards provided for tourists in this aspect. On the whole, you will meet fine, decent people who care for their nation and are deeply distressed by their fate. Now about the bastards.

The KGB is the Soviet secret police, or in other words the Russian counterpart to "pigs." The chief of KGB in Ukraine is Vitaliy V. Fedorchuk. He is known for his rather uncouth behavior

towards people in general. He is shrewd, brutal, but like any other policeman and opportunist, bound to routine and tradition.

The KGB will be your constant companion in Ukraine (or try to be). They will employ the lowest methods to pin a rap on you, so be careful, but not paranoid. The usual method of operation of the KGB is to follow tourists wherever they go, especially young people. The only way to counter this is to go to the nearest militia station and tell the man at the desk, in Ukrainian of course, that you are a tourist from the west, that you have travelled through many countries, but presently you are being followed by some rather strange looking men (it does not have to be "strange looking men"; it could very well be old ladies with shopping baskets, young girls with nice legs or dirty old men) and you are afraid that they might be either hoodlums, homosexuals, muggers, thieves or con men. Never say that you suspect your "tails" of being KGB agents. Demand that these creeps stop following you, or else you will raise such a stink when you get home that they will never hear the end of it. Be indignant! Yell at the militia man behind the desk, demand an explanation, say that you are highly disenchanted with socialism, that you were a member of SDS back home and now you will quit once and for all. The poor militia man will try to keep a straight face, but inside he will be laughing at you for your innocence. Don't let this distract you and remain adamant in your demands. If the militia man tries to explain that he is helpless in this respect, give him a proper dressing down and threaten to report him to his superior for being an inept sloth. Then go to "Intourist" — your official hosts, but in reality another KGB front, and tell them that you are being followed by shifty looking characters, that you want to the militia, but they are all freaked out, and that you demand action from "Intourist!" Who knows, Fedorchuk just might become a bit more selective in whom he follows. If nothing else works, harass your followers. Don't talk to them, but be profanely nice. Smile at them, don't walk too fast for fear that they might fall behind and lose you, and every evening as you go to your hotel room give them the finger (middle finger up — the rest down).

The KGB is known for its use of provocateurs. These are very pleasant people who might approach you in the hotel lobby, or in the hotel restaurant, try to buy American dollars from you, porno, shirts, etc. Don't sell anything to such people; it is only a trick to pin something on you; avoid them like the plague. The other type of provocateur is the political activist who insists on taking you to a meeting of his "underground cell." These cells consist of KGB agents and resemble communist party cells in the U.S. — more agents and less members. The same card carrying FBI agents than bona fide members. The same agent will swear to you up and down that he hates the regime, hates Russians, socialism, etc. He might also be a bit more sophisticated and talk to you about russification, dissent in Ukraine and so on. (If you are not sure of this type and have doubts about his origins, don't be taken in.) In such a case, listen but do not comment.

The KGB also likes to talk to tourists: these talks, otherwise known as interrogations, are conducted at random. Their main purpose is to bring files up to date on known "subversives" in the west. The usual procedure for such an interrogation is that your "Intourist" guide will tell you that her chiel wants to see you. Your guide will lead you to a private room and you will meet a very pleasant idiot. He will ask you about your impressions of Ukraine (service is horrible, everybody speaks some Asiatic language (Russian), posters of Lenin everywhere — use your imagination). To this verbal abuse he will smile and ask you about the emigration and about attitudes of the young people in the West. Specially towards Ukraine, he will ask you about specific organizations, person ("never heard of him or her," but they are crazy and you have nothing to do with them, "don't belong to this organization," and if you do, it is only for "social reasons") Don't lie overtly, but don't volunteer any information to the jerk. Remain disinterested in the whole procedure. If he asks you if you read the "Tourist Cookbook" — give a dumb stare and ask him to explain himself. If your "interviewer" gets angry and begins shouting, give him a sympathetic look, tell him that you understand how difficult it must be talking to kids all day, but those are the breaks working for such a fine organization as "Intourist."

Take it for granted that your hotel room is bugged and in certain instances there is photo equipment installed to provide fantastic close-up shots of you in bed (alone or with some newly acquired friend). If you are camera shy (and you should be in the Ukraine) avoid passion for those two or three weeks. It is also recommended that you hang a pair of shorts on possible openings for camera lenses and do a minimum amount of rapping in your room. Likewise, do not discuss the overthrow of the regime in the lobby of the "Dnipro" hotel in Kiev. All in all, the KGB will frequently provide you with moments of pure mirth. They are there and cannot be avoided all the time. How to avoid them is up to the imagination of the potential tourists. If it is possible, but that's all we'll say.

"UKRAINA" SOCIETY

Another famous institution in Ukraine is the Society for Cultural Contacts with Ukrainians Abroad, or the "Ukraina" Society. It, like "Intourist," is another facade for the KGB, but is such a pushy outfit that a separate section is devoted to them. Most tourists to Ukraine have had the "pleasure" to be taken to a meeting in the Society, they have had to suffer through some utterly ridiculous speeches by way-out clowns, led by Valentin Tsurkan. Comrade Tsurkan (his KGB rank is either Major or Colonel) is the head man for "cultural contacts" with Ukrainians abroad. He was previously stationed in New York in the UN a number of years where he managed to get in an in-depth study of the Ukrainian emigration. He read "Svoboda" regularly, which even you don't read, and probably still does, and is very well informed about our life in the west. Needless to say, Tsurkan is as close to "cultu-" as this cookbook is to cooking, but let that be Tsurkan and his staff sit a predium in front of the tourists, welcome them to Ukraine, rattle off the latest statistics about



wheat production and kilowatt hours produced during the current 5 year plan, tell you with a straight face that Ukrainian culture is flourishing in Ukraine, and that above all Ukrainians in Ukraine, and Ukrainians in the west should become the closest of friends (In the meantime your KGB tails are milling about outside, waiting for the circus inside to finish so that they can get back to work "making friends with you." You may even get a chance to see some real live "socialist realist films" at the meeting (really putrid things), so look vaguely interested in order to humor your hosts). You will also be given books to take back with you about all the "crimes" of Ukrainian nationalism and how everything in Ukraine is just honky-dory today. If you're stuck, you can always rip off some really worthwhile books from the "Ukraina" Society. They usually have stacks of the best art and literary works published in Ukraine, books which are almost impossible to get in a bookstore in Kiev, but somehow the "Society" has them. Give them a story, say that you looked everywhere, and you probably did, and that book is impossible to get. Results are almost guaranteed. The other literature is junk, but take it, be practical, remember there is a serious shortage of toilet paper in Kiev.

Take the talk about all the "achievements of Ukraine under socialism" with a grain of salt. Nothing useful is served by getting up-tight at comrade Tsurkan and telling him to get bent. Some in your group are sure to ask the same standard questions about the fact that Ukrainian is not heard in Kiev, and the standard reply, be that it is summer and there are many tourists in Kiev from all over the USSR, and therefore Russian is predominant. Don't waste your time with this nonsense, sit still and avoid Tsurkan and "the boys." Resign yourself to wasting one or two hours and console yourself with the fact that you have to go through this game of charades only once, while Tsurkan and his staff are obliged to do this all their lives. It is possible that you might be

smorgasbord of information



reader, throw away your latest copy of the resolutions of some student gathering, they are worthless scraps of paper which harm no one, no matter how patriotic and "uncompromising" they might seem.

Stay awhile in the street. Look at the passers-by and remind yourself: the last work has not yet been said. Then act. Act with others, not for them. Make the revolution here and now. It is your own. C'est pour toi que tu fais la révolution.

Daniel Cohn-Bendit

This article was written collectively, and we'll be damned if we let the KGB know our names — [let them work at it!]

PART II

Because such dubious institutions as the KGB, FBI and others have shown considerable interest in the first part of our cookbook, we have decided to update some sections, add or delete others and generally elaborate upon statements which may not have been clear in the first part. The major reason for preparing this chapter, however, is that the tourist season is again just around the corner. Once again, bright and well-scrubbed Ukrainian boys and girls are scheming with their parents to buy overly expensive scarves for the folks in the old country. While in Kiev, heads of the KGB tourist department are briefing guardians of law and order on whom to expect this summer and on whom to kick out of the country as a lesson to others. All in all, things are picking up again. Since the last installment of the cookbook, the KGB has been working overtime expelling some innocent and some not too innocent — and not too bright — tourists. A special staff of literary minded KGB agents has been brushing up on the finer points of writing confessions for tourists spineless enough to sign them. And as we are all aware by now, hundreds of Ukrainians in Ukraine have been arrested in 1972 and 1973 for protesting official policies. This in itself makes writing another installment of the cookbook a must.

CHECK YOUR UKRAINIAN SPELLING

Despite the fact that there is an upsurge of reactionary forces in Ukraine today, this does not mean that we can do nothing to agitate and catalyze ferment. One of the best ways of making others aware of our feelings is also the oldest and best known method used on college campuses from Argentina to Tokyo — graffiti. Every tourist going to Ukraine this summer should be armed with magic markers, indelible ink pens and pencils, lipstick, crayons, chalk, paint (do not take all this with you, but decide upon one or two weapons and have your friends take the others). As an experienced bathroom poet and wall-defacer, the average Ukrainian visiting Ukraine this summer has the opportunity to excel if he keeps his cool about him. At night he can mark up anything with a surface, write slogans in defense of the Ukrainian language, protest the arrests of Dzyuba, Chornovil, Moroz and others. This should be done with caution for the KGB will obviously have read this cookbook and will therefore be expecting your move. So use your ingenuity, make up schemes of where (not KGB headquarters!) and when to post slogans, check your Ukrainian spelling and go to it. If questioned by the KGB, deny all, say that you haven't written anything in Ukrainian since you were 7 years old. Hopefully, your brothers in Ukraine will get the hint that we are pissed off at the state of things in Ukraine and that we are willing, in our minimal way, to help publicize their plight in their own country. Our efforts should make them even more angry with the regime.

NO MORE MR. NICE-GUY

Since the last cookbook, the KGB has decided to throw down the gauntlet and stop winning friends among young Ukrainians in the West. They have even prepared transparent excuses for abolishing student tours to Ukraine. At first glance this may seem like a drastic move by the Ukrainian people's security agencies, but it should not overly trouble us in our disruptive activities i.e. tourism. And although we will read in the Soviet Ukrainian press that the Ukrainian masses (bless their hearts) angrily protest anti-Soviet activities by tourists from the West, this should only serve as encouragement to go on to bigger and better things. As to practical hints for 'anti-Soviet' activity, we suggest that more radical tourists harass the Soviet aristocracy with phone calls protesting arrests and sentences of Ukrainian patriots. From the purely technical aspect, we recommend that calls be placed from public phones and during working hours. You will need a two kopeck coin to place a phone call in the USSR. Put the coin in the slot and then life the receiver and dial the number. Keep the conversation short, say what has to be said and then leave. Below are some of the most pertinent numbers:

KGB Headquarters in Kiev: 45-65-01
KGB Headquarters in Lviv: 2-96-20
Fedir Hlukh, (Public Prosecutor of Ukraine: 29-67-41 (in Kiev)
Poltava Party Oblast Committee: 34-18
Ukrainian Press Agency (RATAU) in Kharkiv: 2-48-10
Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet in Kiev: K3-10-01
Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court in Kiev: K3-03-04

It is highly recommended that potential tourists do not visit the editorial offices of the *Shlach Peremohy* prior to leaving for the USSR. Your local KGB agent in Kiev may later ask you to explain your presence there and demand that you sign a confession denouncing everything in existence. Besides, there is no purpose in visiting the haunts of old nationalists whom you will probably find quite depressing

THINGS GO BETTER WITH COKE

Do not compare prices of cars, meat, pepsi cola, eggs and shoes and brag that the living standard in the US is higher and that everything is simply a matter of raising the production of

consumer goods. This is blatant New York Times liberalism and does not appeal to anyone except Harrison Salisbury and his crowd who have been not only naive, but downright stupid on more than one occasion. Talk about important issues, political and social discrimination, russification, persecution of dissidents, lack of democracy and such. Be discriminating in whom you talk to, use your brains and do not discredit yourself and others. Read over the first part of this cookbook and — don't forget the magic markers

PART III

Our trip to Ukraine last summer left us with a foul taste so we decided to try some of the recipes in your cookbook. Unfortunately, we were not yet aware of the pencils and crayons approach but we did manage to improvise a few delicious goodies on our own. All it took was a dash of imagination and a pinch of concern.

1) Wear a cross around your neck or on the outside of a sweater, i.e., in an easily visible place. This tactic really does wonders. Plain, ordinary, everyday people will stop you on the street and start lashing out against their regime and generally everything that the cross stands against in the Soviet Union. But always use the all-ears-but-no-comment approach when confronted with such a vociferous display of outrage. Make sure they realize that you've been listening and do understand — a nod of the head will suffice — but don't get involved in political rock-throwing discussions with people you don't know (agent provocateurs are also pretty good at looking outraged, you see).

A further observation on this tactic: most of the people who pass you on the street will stare at the cross — after all, how often do they get to see a cross worn in public? This subtle, non-showy method is the surest way of getting through to the seemingly unapproachable masses. But don't wear "bourgeois" Ukrainian national insignia like a tryzub or a blue and yellow pin unless you don't mind getting into trouble. Crosses and religious articles are OK because the Soviet Constitution "guarantees" religious freedom so that you're at least legally safe.

Don't wear your cross at border crossings. Border guards can be nasty if they want to so that it's better to avoid any unnecessary aggravation. The only opposition we encountered came from a drunk militia officer in Intourist Rovno. He asked me in Russian if I wasn't ashamed to be wearing that "thing." I retorted that we can wear anything we want to in Canada. At that point, the woman at the desk told him to "shhh, they're tourists."

2) Another effective way of cooking up a storm is to completely freak THEM (the people who see to it that you're properly looked after) out by not doing what they expect you to do. For example, have some fun with your tour guide, make sure he remembers your stay.

In Lviv, rather than take the official tour, car and all (meaning the car fare which they expected us to pay!), we suggested to our guide that either he take us on a two hour walking tour of the city centre or the deal was off. After all, we argued, here we were, poor students trying to see Lviv who, alas, couldn't afford to rent a car. So what could he say? He kept dragging his feet and swearing under his breath because we wouldn't let him show us any of the "good spots."

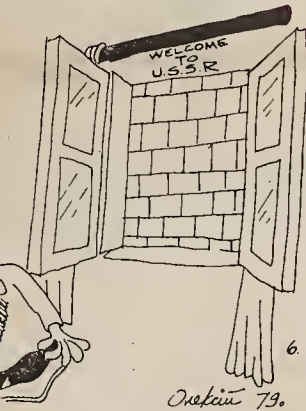
Our next stop was Rovno where they thought they'd outwit us by giving us a jock for a tour guide. But we co-opted them again and took him on still another kind of tour. We insisted that he take us to a restaurant that served *pyrohy* — a not easy task. After a lot of searching, he finally found a place where they had a good meal. Then, we good humouredly suggested that we have some fun and all go out to a night club where young people hang out. The poor guy! — we had him making phone calls to his superiors all night. Even worse was his embarrassment at our singing Ukrainian songs at the top of our lungs after we had a few drinks of wine. To cap it all off, we told him in the highest of spirits that, being friends and all, we'd walk him home. Watch your guide try to squirm out of that one! Ours kept walking around the dark streets with us and would always end up at Intourist headquarters where he'd beg us to leave him alone. Of course, we were too nice for that.

The trick to having a good time is making sure that you and not THEY call the shots. Keep them off balance, on their toes and hopping around. Even if it doesn't work, it's fun to see them knit their brows.

3) The best thing to wear in Ukraine is as ragged, patched and faded a pair of jeans as you can find. You know, the poor look. A show of wealth only convinces them that you're from the upper class which alone is privileged enough to travel and spend money. So tell them you're a poor student. No one will be able to figure that one out. Also tell them that your mother is a cleaning lady and that your father is an honest and hard working proletarian. You'd think they'd almost start crying. But it's good for them.

4) You'll notice that a lot of people and particularly all kinds of officials will be speaking in Russian. If one of these types says something in Russian to you, listen carefully, smile politely and then compliment him on his excellent Ukrainian! I still can't forgive them the low blow they landed when a customs officer complimented me on my Russian when he knew damn well that I was speaking Ukrainian.

5) We never tried this tactic, but it's always appealed to me. It takes a lot of imagination, a stiff upper lip and natural acting ability. The idea, again, is to beat them at their own game. If they can play at being Communists, so can you. Carry a used copy of Lenin or Marx around with you with the appropriate passages nicely circled in red, read up on the latest production figures (how is manganese doing? how is pig iron doing), learn a few recent Party resolutions, etc. Then play the role of the passionate Communist who's incensed with all the inefficiency, laziness, etc. that's around. Be outraged at poor service (Leonid will hear about this!) and any other examples of Soviet incompetence. Say things like "Polissya Oblast has fallen behind in sugar beet production this year. Have the Polissysnans no pride?" But remember, don't do this unless you can carry it through to the end and take the heat. The embarrassment and hassles aren't worth it if you buckle down to someone who suspects you're a lake.



Ukraine 79.

approached by one of the members of the "presidium" of the Society who would like to have a talk with you since you are a young person. Don't be impressed and don't be willing. (See last section dealing with KGB interrogations.) If he insists, play his foul game. He might ask you to do an interview for "News From Ukraine," a rather poorly edited newspaper for English speaking Ukrainians abroad. Refuse all interviews. You might have in your group some "progressive" Ukrainians. These are misled people who will believe all that is told them by Tsurkan and Co., will return to the west and remain insignificant as they have always been. There is no reason in trying to influence them, or in trying to show them reality for they do not matter. Let them be.

If anything is to be suggested, it is not to go to this burlesque show it at all humanly possible. Vanish just before the bus leaves for the Society from your hotel room and say that you forgot all about the trip and feel really sorry that you missed it.

Friend, you have just finished reading a practical manual on how to help subvert the USSR, while enjoying yourself at the same time. This "cookbook" has many shortcomings, but we hope to improve it with time, to make additions and delete certain items. Many of you will treat this brochure as a joke and continue to visit "the old country" just for the sake of visiting; others, hopefully, will come to the realization that Ukraine is not just another tourist trap, but is indeed a nation fighting for its very survival. It is to this second category that we hope to appeal and activate. For we deeply believe that it is too easy and too futile to be a "good Ukrainian" in the west. You have been to numerous gatherings celebrating past defeats — Kruty, Brody, etc. The times are changing and celebrations of defeats are passe. Because if we are to exist, be a modern nation and, pardon the time-worn cliché, a sovereign nation, we have to confront reality, and reality is Kiev, the KGB, Lviv, Tsurkan and Co. So, dear

Students home free!

Carnations, kisses and chocolates greeted the first group of young Ukrainian refugees from Poland upon their arrival at Toronto International Airport on 14 January — New Year's Day according to the Julian calendar. On hand to meet the fourteen immigrants were representatives of the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society (CUIAS), PLAST and SUM (two sponsoring organizations). Toronto Ukrainians who are providing accommodation, as well as reporters from the TV and print media.

Many of the new arrivals were part of a group of students and young workers who decided to remain in the West while on a pilgrimage to Rome, seeking political asylum enroute in Austria in August, 1981. After being processed at the main refugee camp at Traiskirchen, they were sent to the village of St. Georgen, near Salzburg, where they were eventually joined by fifty-nine other Ukrainians who had decided to flee Poland.

Although relieved to have finally reached Canada after months of waiting, it became evident during an interview with a reporter from the *Toronto Star* that all of the new immigrants were very concerned about the fate of their families living under martial law. They were reluctant to discuss their situation for fear of jeopardizing loved ones back home.

This group is only the first of several which the CUIAS expects to arrive in Canada over the next few months. Some 150 Ukrainians from Poland are currently in Western Europe awaiting permission to emigrate to Canada. A large-scale community effort was and is still required to resettle them in Canada.

Credit for being the first organization to respond to the plight of the refugees goes to SUSK, which was quick to act on information provided by CUIAS president Bohdan Mykytiuk. At the 22nd SUSK Congress held at York University in the fall of 1981, a resolution was passed calling for the SUSK National Executive to undertake "as an immediate priority, to assist the Ukrainian student refugees from Poland by

launching an emergency campaign to: i) raise funds to assist the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society in its endeavours to bring these refugees to Canada; and ii) publicize the refugees' plight."

Accordingly, SUSK Human Rights VP Nestor Mykytyn formed a committee consisting of members of the three Toronto area clubs at the U of T, York and Ryerson. At its first meeting in early September, the committee decided to conduct a nation-wide fund-raising campaign for the CUIAS involving the collection of donations at churches and student-organized social events, and a mass mailing of an appeal

for assistance. To sensitize community opinion to the plight of the refugees, the committee produced 20,000 pamphlets entitled *Ukrainian Refugees: How you can help*. 9,000 copies were mailed out to Ukrainian households across Canada, while the remainder was distributed by local USC's. The staging area for the operation, St. Vladimir Institute, filled first with enthusiastic envelope-toting volunteers, and later with the debris of the mass mail-out — mangled address sheets, decapitated stamps and scattered coffee cups.

Most Toronto-area churches were targeted for collections

between 18-25 October. On the first Sunday, pamphlets were distributed wherever organizational inexperience and clerical reluctance didn't intervene. The following Sunday, donations were accepted. A number of parish priests wholeheartedly supported the SUSK initiative and together with their parishioners contributed for a total of \$3,872.00 during the first week of the campaign. During the weeks that followed, contributions from the remaining churches and private individuals began coming in at an increasing rate. Three smaller church communities that responded to the appeal for help were St. Anne's

Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Scarborough, St. Basil's Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Baptist Church, York and Waterloo Ukrainian Student Clubs organized benefit nights for the young immigrants, and the U of T came forward with a financial contribution to the campaign. Even Valeriy Moroz, don't the proceeds of one of his lectures to the SUSK drive.

Thanks to a quick and generous response on the part of the community, SUSK had, by 16 December, managed to raise \$23,288.17, all of which was directed to the CUIAS. Another \$5-10,000 of donations were received in this period, and have been to the success of SUSK publicity campaign — bringing the total sum to over \$30,000!

A second, indirect result of SUSK's effort to raise the profile of the refugee issue within the hromada has been the increased willingness of other community organizations to come to the aid of Ukrainians from Eastern Europe. By the end of 1981, 135 of the 150 Ukrainian self-exiles had found sponsors in Canada, among them: Plast, SUM, Ukrainian Canadian Social Services, the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League, and the Ukrainian Free Cossacks. It is noteworthy that the relatively small Ukrainian community of Kitchener, Ontario, is sponsoring sixteen immigrants. The remainder are being sponsored directly by the CUIAS and its branches throughout Canada.

With the success of this campaign, SUSK has shown that it is capable of reaching out to the community and working with it to achieve concrete goals. Other goal-oriented projects of this nature will be given serious consideration in the future. But for now, much still remains to be done for the refugees still living in Austria. Money, organizational support, and sponsors are needed, and people are urged to come forward with their assistance by contacting the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society at Suite 209, 2323 Bloor St. West, Toronto, Ontario M6W 4W1. Or phone (416) 767-4595.



A weary student gets a welcome kiss.

Polish Ukrainians await sponsorship

Refugee status denied students

Due to the tense political climate in Poland a considerable number of the country's Ukrainian minority, including an estimated 54 Polish-Ukrainian students, have been leaving for destinations in western Europe. Austria, West Germany, France and Italy are presently harbouring many of these individuals who await immigration officials from Canada and the United States to resolve the critical refugee problem. Many of the forty Polish-Ukrainian students who left a bus tour, in Vienna in August and an additional fourteen students known to have fled to Munich are looking overseas for assistance and sponsorship.

Current figures reveal that the total number of refugees may be much higher than first anticipated. Estimates made by the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society in Toronto indicate that the number may be as high as 300, however information is often sporadic and complicated due to the fact that many refugees indicate only that they are Polish for fear of complications with immigration officials.

One of the underlying problems from a Canadian perspective, is that the immigration department does not recognize these people as legitimate "refugees" as in accordance with the United Nations Convention definition.

The department instead views them as "self-exiled" persons. Refugees who arrive in Canada receive a considerable amount of government settlement assistance, including paid language classes, whereas self-exiles are not entitled to any such benefits. Also, self-exiles seeking settlement in Canada are generally required to have suitable sponsors, this being a requisite for acceptance.

These definitional obstacles have sparked a public appeal by the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society for the sponsorship of the Polish-Ukrainians. The society states that urgent action is needed: with 12,000 East European refugees already in Austria and

more arriving at an accelerated pace, the movement of the relatively small number of Ukrainians could fare poorly. They also say that it is essential to expedite the removal to the United States or Canada of those refugees presently in Austria so as to facilitate movement of those that may still come.

Sponsoring responsibilities include: (a) making adequate arrangements in the community; (b) having sufficient financial resources and expertise to provide lodging, care, maintenance and other necessary assistance; (c) to be legally responsible for one year for the refugees.

The Immigrant Aid Society

also asked that individuals, organizations, university groups as well as the Ukrainian students' movement in Canada support the plight of the Polish-Ukrainian students now in western Europe.

For further information contact:
Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society
Suite 209, 2323 Bloor St. West
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M6S 4W1
(416) 767-4595

Community ignores Ukrainian immigrants

Ukrainians in Toronto have, in the past, contributed generously towards worthwhile projects which service the needs of the community. Yet, last month, when the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society (CUIAS) solicited Ukrainian businesses for merchandise to be used as prizes in its upcoming fundraising lottery, it received only some meager cash donations, a few small prizes and, adding insult to injury, an electric toothbrush for its considerable time and effort.

Lack of material support for Immigrant Aid is not a new phenomenon. Since its inception in 1974, CUIAS has been waging a constant uphill battle to remain a functioning, viable organization. Comprised of about thirty volunteer members, CUIAS has remained steadfast in its commitment both to assist Ukrainian immigrants and refugees in entering Canada and to facilitate their settlement within the country. Now, more than ever, the dire financial straits the society finds itself in threaten its very existence.

According to Bohdan Mykytiuk, CUIAS president, the society currently has assets of only \$400-\$600. Direct aid to refugees and immigrants annually costs from \$6,000-\$9,000 depending on the case load. The widening gulf between required and available funds is threatening to submerge Immigrant Aid. Yet appeals for donations made continually through newspapers and, most recently, on MTV's Ukrainian Program in Toronto, cause barely a ripple in the community. A mere \$300 was received after the MTV appeal. Two years ago, the society spent \$600 advertising in local community papers in an attempt to raise money for twenty-one Ukrainians stranded in Vienna after having fled Poland. Ukrainians in Toronto managed to drum up \$25 that time.

"There's a tremendous apathy," says Mykytiuk. "The person who possibly came in as a refugee himself, or went through the D.P. camps, people who were in the underground, or the 'dyvyziynyky'—they just don't care about the present day refugee, or appear not to care."

Immigrant Aid makes it a point to care. A national organization with offices in Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg, and Edmonton, its main branch is located in Toronto. Not only is Toronto a major Ukrainian centre of Canada, but its Ukrainian population is comprised mostly of post-second World War immigrants—persons one might expect to be more readily sympathetic to the plight of the latter-day immigrant. Yet, Mykytiuk claims to have had more direct monetary support from Ukrainians in Western Canada. A month after advertising in Toronto papers had produced a paltry \$25 for the refugees stranded in Vienna, the ad was repeated in the Western Ukrainian papers *Ukrainian Voice*, *New Pathway*, and *Canadian Farmer*. This time more than \$4000 was received, enabling CUIAS to bring ten of these refugees into Canada.

Ironically, it is in Toronto that the majority of Ukrainian refugees and immigrants surface and expect to settle. But if they hope to find a receptive community, they may be disappointed, according to Mykytiuk. Toronto's Ukrainian population will more likely treat them with a strange mixture of indifference to their plight bordering on resentment to their presence.

"A typical response from some community members is 'why don't we send them out to the farms, or to the bush, the same thing that happened to me,'" says Mykytiuk. "This is the wrong attitude. If you did have an influx of these people and you sent them God knows where you immediately lose that first step in the climb up the Canadian mosaic, both for them and their children. This is what we're trying to avoid. We're attempting to give them the best of everything, so that their children can get into school, and university, and eventually have better opportunities. If our parents had had that same sort of assistance, a lot of Ukrainians would be at a different level now. Our group in Canada, as an economic and political force would be much stronger in that respect."

The prevailing apathy toward today's immigrants and refugees has serious ramifications for the future of the Ukrainians in Canada. In a report presented to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) annual meeting held in October 1979, CUIAS attempted to impress upon the UCC national executive the crucial necessity of lobbying the government to increase its quotas of Ukrainian immigrants, as well to revise its present policies toward Ukrainians in the granting of refugee status—a necessity for the sheer cultural survival of Ukrainians within Canada. Although in the 1971 census Ukrainians numbered 159,830 (sixth in rank of Ontario ethnic groups), a mere 280 Ukrainian immigrants were accepted into the province during the period 1972-78. At the same time, 6,120 Poles, 65,020 Portuguese, and 88,940 blacks from the Caribbean Islands entered Ontario.

"It becomes obvious from the above," concluded the report, "that within a few short years Ukrainians, not only in Ontario but in Canada, will drop from 6th to 12th place on the numbers scale. The above does not take into consideration the ongoing problems of assimilation nor the average decrease in birth rate."

Alarming facts, yet Mykytiuk claims that the community is oblivious to the impending consequences of low immigrant quotas for Ukrainians in Canada.

"We're still living with the laurels of 500,000 Ukrainians in Canada," he says. "If we don't get immigration in, as a minority group, politicians will not regard us very seriously in five or ten years simply because we won't have the political clout. Unless we get a minimum of 500 or 1,000 a year, somehow or somewhere, we can forget about Ukrainianism. If you don't have a flow of immigrants out West, for instance to stimulate them, except for a small core, they'll gradually assimilate completely. If you look at government records the assimilation rate is over 3% for the core group of Ukrainians. Ukrainians refuse to believe that, but that's the way it is."

If Ukrainians refuse to believe the facts, the UCC is showing itself to be derelict in its obligation to rank-and-file members both in acknowledging and acting upon the facts. The pressing need for more Ukrainian immigrants and 'bona fide' refugees accepted into Canada is clear, and might be expected to count as a number one priority in UCC deliberations. Yet Mykytiuk reports that at the October meeting, the UCC executive completely ignored CUIAS' exhortations in this regard.

"We spoke for about half an hour," Mykytiuk recalls. "They didn't even record us in the minutes. They just refuse to have anything to do with these problems."



To date the sole accomplishment of the UCC in this issue has been the much touted "Refugee Sponsorship Agreement" with the immigration authorities. An agreement that, in effect, has virtually no significance in solving the dilemma of prospective Ukrainian refugees who cannot pursue normal routes of appeal within Soviet Ukraine or Eastern Europe. Even more distressing is that the agreement completely disregards the special case of Ukrainian refugees who enter Canada on visitor's visas or by less conventional means, and attempt to apply for refugee status from within the country. These cases are more numerous and certainly more pressing than those covered by the UCC sponsorship pact, yet nothing was achieved on their behalf. The agreement goes on record as a blatant indictment of the UCC's leadership.

But incompetence is what the UCC seems most adept at. At a subsequent meeting between UCC executive members and the Department of External Affairs in Ottawa last January, Mykytiuk was appalled to discover that UCC executives had arrived at the meeting totally unprepared and, by all appearances, even unaware of its purpose.

"They went there without one printed word, nothing, they didn't know why they were there. All they were going to do was pose for some pictures and probably write some 'velyka intervensiya' or something. We had a bit of a squabble that night and then we just took over the meeting. We had to run it... but to come to Ottawa without an agenda, introduction of names, any idea of how a meeting is run—let alone speak English."

If Mykytiuk seems disdainful of the UCC national executive, he has ample justification. While other ethnic groups have been lobbying for representation on the consequential "Refugee Status Advisory Committee" and the "Immigration Appeal Board" (both of which make crucial decisions concerning refugees), the UCC has too often done little more than hamper the work of CUIAS, even thwarting their efforts upon occasion.

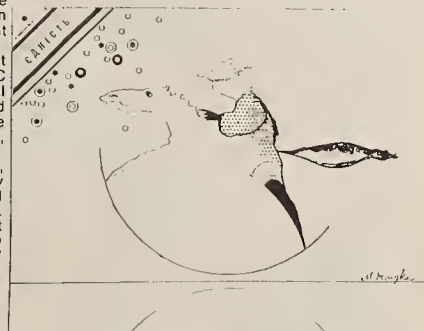
Mykytiuk's feeling is that the UCC could best serve all concerned by giving Immigrant Aid the mandate to negotiate all immigrant and refugee-related problems with the federal government. At least until it (presumably a new administration) proves itself capable of dealing with the issue. In the meantime, he stresses the UCC should assist the society by providing funds which would enable CUIAS to continue its work in government lobbying, legal action, and settlement of Ukrainian immigrants and refugees in Canada. He points out that unless bureaucrats and government officials consistently feel pressure from a strong, organized and unrelenting Ukrainian lobby group, changes in discriminatory policies will never be effected.

"Our work is hindered by a lack of funds. If we had the funds we could have the workers, we could prepare the materials, go to Ottawa to lobby—keep those politicians active."

Good faith and financial backing from the UCC is part of the formula. The other side of the coin is strong moral support and immediate monetary assistance from individual members of the community. Their efforts cannot consistently continue indefinitely in the vacuum of moral and material support evidenced within the Ukrainian community to date.

"There's so much to do," says Mykytiuk. "The Department of External Affairs has asked us to compile a total list of family reunification cases for presentation at the Madrid Helsinki Review in November. We need posters, we have to send them out all over, we're going to have to phone all those families by the end of September. That's going to cost close to \$1,000 alone. What are we going to do it with?"

An electric toothbrush, it seems, is far from enough.



УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ ПОЛІТІК В ПОГОНІ ЗА ЄДНІСТЮ

(v1 n1, July-Aug. 1969)

Новий шкільний рік: починає свою діяльність нова екіпіровка і здається, що «Студентів» належить висловитися про свою діяльність та про свої пляни на майбутнє.

Отже, по-перше повторюємо, що редакція «Студента» незалежна від СУСК-у, має право й змогу друкувати те, що їй видається корисним. Редакція не визнає цензури з боку якого-небудь партійного, релігійного чи громадського угруповання, а покладається тільки на власні зацікавлення та власну розсудливість. Треба тут додати, що редакція вітає особливо твори й статті молодих письменників-журналістів, тим більше, якщо вони оригінальні чи порушують нові теми. Кожне суспільство має свій естаблішмент — «Студент» бачить свою роль щодо українського й канадського естаблішментів як

радикальну: порушувати справу й пропагувати зміни, як також друкувати матеріали, промовчані тими ж естаблішментами.

Висловити оці думки було відносно легко (мабуть можна молода редакція, якщо вона береться за свою працю з ентузіазмом і сумлінням, думас менш-більш так само). Але вже далі, коли приходиться говорити докладніше про характер газети, справа ускладнюється. Ось проблема: закидають нам, що газеті бракує «українського духу». Ми виправдуємося, мовляв, живемо в Канаді, пишемо про навколишню дійсність, намагаємося давати уявлення про ідеї та діяльність студентів (чи приваємні антивної частини українського студентства). Не слід, отже, нарікати на газету, яка віддзеркалює дійсність — треба нарікати на саму дій-

сність.

Але давайте приглянемося ближче до самого значення тієї фрази — «український дух». Скажемо по-народному: хто знає напевно, який оселедець пахне українським духом? Який патріот наважиться на такий егізізм, щоб учини інших, що таке «український дух»? А ще доцільніше — хто винайде таку мазь, від якої всі нозі скриплять б в одні український лад?

У нашому розумінні, ця національна чи етнічна ідентичність не є щось есклюзивне. Цей дух, ця ідентичність виробляється впродовж десятиліть, як і виробляється історія й традиції. Було б помилкою думати, що тільки концерти, пісні чи етнографічні теми в літературі й мистецтві характеризують український дух. Нам здається, що т. зв. «національна культура», це дуже мала частина того пережитого-відчутного, що ми називаємо культурним надбанням народу. Ще в 30-их роках Богдан Ігор Антонович писав: «Слід пригадати відому, не один раз висловлювану, проте ще неприйнятну й непоширену правду, а саме, що національний характер не творить у мистецтві народна або історична тематика чи наслідування народних або наших давніх способів оформлення мистецького твору. Аж соромно повторювати такі трюїзми, але годі. Мистецтво само про себе є суспільною вартістю, а нація, це, очевидно, суспільство; отже мистецтво само про себе є такою ж національною вартістю. Мистець є тоді національним, коли признає свою приналежність до даної нації та відчуває співзвучність своєї психіки із збірною психікою свого народу... Національної оригінальності не треба шукати виключно в народних виразах та бувальщинах. Їхня прарідність і чистість є дуже та дуже сумнівною, в кожному разі не стовідсотковою. Борис Антонович-Давидович у своїй відомій повісті «Смерть» говорить, що українська нація викинула тільки «шляху й бандуру». Це, звичайно, помилка. Ми навіть бандури не викинули, бо, як загально відомо, прийшла вона до нас власне з Італії та ще й до цього дуже пізно».

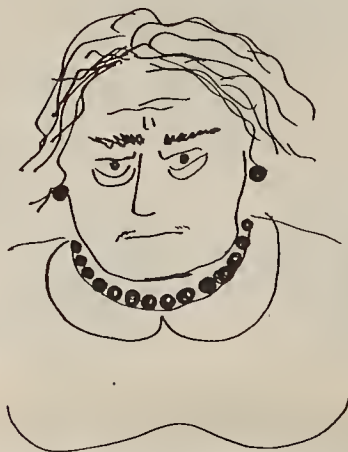
Висновок з цього такий: культуру не можна ототожнювати з зовнішніми формами, в яких у даному часі вона себе виявляє. Але в нашій громаді не передбачається відхилення від устійливих норм: якщо не ходиш до церкви, носки довге волосся чи займаєшся йогою — ти вже не українець...

У нас багато говориться про зберегання та передачу традицій; про розвиток чути дуже мало. І це зрозуміло. Перебуваючи в чужому доквілі, українські емігранти розглядали свою культуру як заповуку своєї ідентичності, отже як щось певне та стійке. Через відсутність контакту з батьківщиною стерлася різниця між двома поняттями: «українська культура» та «українська культура в минулому».

Сьогодні, коли зорганізоване українське життя існує вже довгий час на цьому континенті, легко переконати себе, що тутешнє українське суспільство так зберегло свою унікальність. І справді, існує різниця між українським та північно-американським суспільством — але тільки на перший погляд. Оцінюючи свої успіхи, українці користуються північно-американським міралом — автами, заощадженнями, хмародерами. Політичне становище нашої громади покривається з офіційним, урядовим становищем до тієї міри, що навіть американська несамовітність у В'єтнамі не викликає сумнівів щодо характеру та намірів уряду, який за неї відповідає. Коли українці перестають судити незалежно про вартість, тоді й культура їхня стає пляткою, а різниця між нею й місцевією культурою — поверховою. Не дивно, отже, що молодь відвертається від українства, не бачачи в ньому нічого своєрідного.

Але ми не віримо, що так мусить бути. Українська культура залишиться повновартісною, якщо не боїтиметься змін. Не можемо снізати наперед, як буде виглядати ця культура у майбутньому, але з певністю можемо твердити, що намагання обмежити її можливість приведуть до її цілковитого занепаду.

ПН. ЛЯЛЯ КОМАР



Dear Ms. Komar:

This letter is to inform you that I have decided to resign from the Ukrainian Human race. I am so totally fed up with these children we call Ukrainian men, that there seems no alternative except to abandon a lost cause.

Although they say that no two people are alike and that one should not generalize, I find that Ukrainian men carry a common characteristic, specifically categorized as first class snobbery. I do not believe that it is an unconscious element, for these homo sapiens seem to treat women of another race five times better than those of their own. Maybe it is because they know that they will never marry this other girl. That word "matusha" specifies that their wives will have to be Ukrainians and because the female's mother will not tolerate inter-racial marriage either, the men believe that these stupid women are just sitting around like flies ready to pounce on a "mass of compost". Well, I'm afraid they're going to be disappointed in the long run.

At any rate I've let out some of my hostilities, and all I ask of you is to inform me as to how to deal with such people.

Yours truly
Infuriated.

Dear Infuriated;

First of all I would like to tell you that you are not the only one who has to deal with the insane chauvinism exhibited by Ukrainian men, and therefore I believe that your letter will be of interest to a number of persons in the reading audience.

What you write about as "snobbery" is more often the inability of Ukrainian men and women to deal with each other as people and the confusion on both parts in dealing with each other by the trappings that men and women in the Ukrainian community are identified with. The women after all are the future mothers and the men, as typical of the general society, treat them as only suited for that purpose; of course, Ukrainian women do not think, cannot possibly be exciting to talk to, let alone have a relationship with. This problem is compounded by those Ukrainian

women who constantly think about catching a husband, and paint themselves up like peacocks to entice men. They are encouraged by their families who ultimately see women's role in society as the mother and homemaker and by the Ukrainian organizations who push them into organizing teas and educating the youth. Men obviously in our community, are the thinkers, the political animal, the intellectual. The problem should be a concern for both women and men, who are forced to take on these roles.

The reason that both men and women would prefer having a relationship with someone outside the community is because of the ghetto or small town nature of our community where your business is everyone else's business and anyone who moves out of their parents' home is obviously entering an "immoral" relationship. (They very well may, and I hope that they do.) The minute a Ukrainian man and woman are seen together more than once, they are immediately married off and this keeps the rumormongers going steadily.

But surely the men and women in this community are strong enough that this kind of ridiculous morality and role playing can be dealt with, firstly in the home and secondly, by publicly denouncing those that try and direct the private lives of other people by their own morality.

Personally I would suggest that you find a group of like-minded people, (there are men and women who are trying to liberate themselves from the community's roles and morals,) and that together you plan political actions to help those in our community who are afraid to strike out on their own. At first I would think that women and men separately form circles to discuss their common problems and as each group gains confidence in itself, that further co-operation be planned.

I suggest that you read the following books to help you in your struggle: "Our Bodies, Our Selves", "The Second Sex", "Sisterhood is Powerful", "The Birth Control Manual" published by McGill University.

RIGHT ON INFURIATED, DO SOMETHING ABOUT YOUR CONDITION!

Homin Ukrainy escalating the 'Moroz War'

This article is a response to an editorial in *Homin Ukrainy* (5 September, 1979), entitled "Where does Student want to go?" (Kudy Khocheyt "Student"?), which amounted to little more than a frontal attack on the integrity of both Student and SUSK.

Homin Ukrainy's editorial attempted to use Dave Lupul's article "Valentyn Moroz: A Commentary," published in the June-July-August issue of Student (Vol. 11, No. 56), as a means of portraying both Student and SUSK as uncritical exponents of pro-Soviet propaganda.

It is unfortunate that the editorial board of *Homin Ukrainy* has chosen to launch a campaign of innuendo against Student by suggesting that both the newspaper and the organization which formerly published Student — SUSK — are under the influence of anti-nationalist Marxist ideas derived from the propaganda of the Soviet government in Moscow.

Such an accusation — which is clearly patently false if one only examines the record of both Student and SUSK in publicizing and opposing the suppression of the democratic, national, and social rights of the Ukrainian people — can hardly achieve anything but damage the reputation of the newspaper *Homin Ukrainy*.

However, I would prefer to believe that the learned editors of *Homin Ukrainy* misrepresented the views expressed in my commentary on Moroz's ideas due to a misunderstanding of the main themes of my article, rather than as a result of a deliberate attempt to slander Student and/or those members of SUSK who have supported any of the criticisms which I presented in the article. Nevertheless, it is necessary to address the several accusations put forward by the *Homin Ukrainy*, if only to clarify in its editor's and readers' minds exactly what I stated in my article and where its assertions are groundless.

The first unfounded assertion made in their editorial was as follows: "On what grounds the author has arrived at the conclusion that nationalism is not a vital issue is still a complete mystery" (Na yakii pidstavi avtor doshov do vysnovku pro neaktualnist natsionalizmu — tse shche povna mystere). Nowhere in my article did I suggest that nationalism was an unimportant force in world politics today, if I had felt it was irrelevant I would never have bothered discussing the issue of Moroz's nationalism in the first place. It has an important effect on political events, especially when it is linked with religious, economic and social factors, as is the case in Ukraine.

Moreover, I wish to emphasize that I consider Ukrainian nationalism as legitimate as any other nationalism in the world today. My main point of contention is that the most vociferous exponents of integral nationalism (by which I mean those political groups which subordinate all aspects of society to the primacy of the nation as a unit of historical analysis) have failed to respond to the vast changes in world politics during the past thirty years and, therefore, the cause of Ukrainian national independence has lagged behind the national liberation movements of the multitude of states which have gained their independence from colonial powers since the end of the Second World War.

How has this come about? Because the exponents of integral nationalism have failed to break out of their Cold War mentalities of the 1950s, they have effectively removed themselves from having any influence within the mainstream of world opinion,

and particularly among the largest and most strategically important bloc of nations in the world today — the non-aligned states which have attempted to chart a course independent of both the American and Soviet imperialisms.

As long as organisations within the Ukrainian community continue to remain associated, in alliances with such impotent powers as are presently aligned in ABN — the anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (which includes Taiwan, South Korea, Chile, and until the fall of the Somoza regime, Nicaragua) — the so-called "Ukrainian Liberation Front" will continue to have no effective influence on the world stage. Now even the United States has disowned many of the members of the ABN for their repression of human rights in their countries, and these nations are more diplomatically isolated than ever before.

How can we hope to be spoken of in the same breath as the Palestinians, or the Irish, or the Basques when the leaders of Ukrainian national liberation organizations remain tied to reactionary and repressive regimes? The majority of world nations have come around to supporting the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people as an independent nation because the PLO sought out the support of the nations of the Third World who were victorious in their own anti-colonial struggles. Why then should there be no Ukrainian Liberation Organization at the meeting of non-aligned nations, attempting to organize the support of the Asian, African and Latin American nations which hold such a pivotal role in the contest between the superpowers? In this sense, I criticized Moroz for supporting the same outdated strategies as the established Ukrainian nationalist organizations.

The second major assertion levelled against me was that I was an exponent of "capitulation, opportunism, or illusionistic-utopian pacifistic methods" (Kapitulatsiya, oportunist, chy iluziino-utopiina ostsulistychna metoda). On what grounds do they make such an assertion? In my article I asserted that Moroz's "militaristic road to independence" is doomed to failure for it is based upon a hopelessly primitive approach to the problem. One does not win a revolution by guns alone (my emphasis), but rather by the appeal of one's program and deals to the populace one wishes to win over. This is hardly a strategy of capitulation, opportunism, or utopian-pacifism.

Homin Ukrainy's concentration on the necessity of armed struggle in order to liberate Ukraine ("But to assert that Ukraine can liberate itself without its own forces, without an armed force in the decisive moment, is sheer ignorance (Ale tverditi, shcho Ukraina mozhe vyzvolytysia bez vlasnoi syli, bez vskovoroi syli v rishalnomu momenti tse nevihaslivo!) ignores the importance of non-military strategies by which to influence the outcome of the struggle for independence in Ukraine. They

have so far been ineffectual in appealing on a widespread basis to Ukrainians to promote a liberation movement in Ukraine.

This should not be surprising, insofar as the leadership of these organizations seem to consider themselves to be indispensable elites who are to be the conveyors of all truth and understanding to the mass of apathetic humanity who remain in Ukraine. Moroz appears to be a man cut from the same cloth. Witness his remarks to the 20th SUSK Congress in Montreal: "In such a community there are not many discussions about who is to rule and who is to submit to whom. There is a living feeling and understanding about who is to be the leader" (V taki hromadi nemaie bahatohk dyskussii pro te, khto maie keruvaty, khto maie komu pidkoriatysia. Tam ie zhyve vudchutia i zhyve rozuminnia khto maie buli liderom.)

Does this statement not reflect the same kind of totalitarian conception which we have condemned as practised by the Moscow regime in Ukraine? Is this not a denial of the individual democratic rights of all Ukrainians to be able to determine their own form of government? Should, as Moroz suggests, an authoritarian elite dictating to the people their obligation to submit to the interests of the self-appointed leaders of the nation? Or should we give the Ukrainian people some credit as to their ability to democratically choose their leaders in free, democratic elections?

The third major change, and the most serious, was as follows: "It is an old tactic the Ukrainian national-liberation front's opponents to label the Ukrainian nationalists as fascists. We know the source of this tactic — either from Moscow or from the anti-nationalist Marxists" (Stara baika dyversantiv proty Ukrainskoho natsionalno-vyzvolnoho rykhu. Kleimuvaty natsionalistiv fashystamy — Znaemo, zvidky вона ide. Abo z Moskvy abo vid protynatsionalnykh marksystiv). *Homin Ukrainy* fundamentally misrepresents my position by mis-

quoting me in their translation, they attempt to suggest that I called Moroz a fascist because of his strongly-held nationalist views. What I actually said was as follows: "A second case is Moroz's vision of 'patriotic radicalism' in the 1980. Until he explains himself further on this issue, it is inevitable that such statements will continue to [my emphasis] suggest comparisons with the rise of the fascists in Europe in the 1930s." Because the editorial board of *Homin Ukrainy* leaves out the entire part of the quotation which is emphasised here, whereby the clear intent of my statement was to encourage Moroz to clarify his view of "patriotic radicalism" in the hope that he would publicly distinguish himself from association with the pro-fascist connotations of such a phrase.

Nowhere in the article do I claim that those who support Ukrainian nationalism are fascists. I strongly resent *Homin Ukrainy's* insinuation that my ideas were Moscow-inspired and I believe the time has long since past when such irresponsible accusations should be tolerated in the Ukrainian community. *Homin Ukrainy's* accusation that Student, or myself, are Communist agents is just as absurd as the Canadian Tribune, organ of the Communist party of Canada, recently suggesting that Valentyn Moroz was a Nazi collaborator in the Second World War (when in fact, he was still a young child).

In conclusion, the point of my article was neither to discredit nationalism, nor the Ukrainian community, nor Valentyn Moroz, but to suggest that the postulates of integral nationalism which have been advanced by Moroz and his supporters contain dangerous tendencies which are not in the best interests of the Ukrainian community in the long run.

To exemplify my point, I will take the liberty of quoting Charles Maurras, a prominent French fascist of the early twentieth century, wherein he discusses the different conception of nation held by himself and a political opponent (M. Herve).

"Monsieur Herve is a patriot, only he believes that politically speaking, there are greater interests than national interests and that above the fatherland exists the human race. We will swear, by God fatherland and mankind. But if events say fatherland or mankind, what is one to do in that case? Those who say 'France first' are patriots, those who say 'France, but... are humanitarians'.

This dissociation of fatherland from mankind is the guiding principle of fascist nationalism, which is anti-humanitarian and narcissistic. Maurras was the first to transform, fully consciously, the Kantian categorical imperative into the pseudo absolute imperative of nation above all else. It is in this sense that I interpret fascism, as a denial of the ethical basis of the dominant tradition of Western Society, the Judeo-Christian ethic best exemplified in our society this tradition of putting the morality of humanity above that of the particular interest of any one individual or community or nation. The philosophy of Christianity condemns this extreme form of fascist nationalism, for it is fundamentally amoral in character.

When I addressed my concluding remarks to Moroz in my article, I hoped that he would make clear on which side he stood: that of the Christian tradition of universal ethical principles which apply to all men and nations, or that of the amoral world, in which all ends are acceptable so long as they contribute to the victory of one's particular nation or cause.

I choose to be a patriot, but above all, I am a humanitarian. Therefore, I say I am for an independent Ukraine, but it must be a free and democratic one which respects humanitarian values. Moroz has yet to define whether he is for a 'Ukraine first' or a 'Ukraine but...'. The substance of his speeches are disturbing enough that they should give pause to all concerned patriots to think twice before they blindly follow Moroz's emotional appeals.



(v12 n61, February 1980)

PLYUSHCH, PASSING

Myrna Kostash is a free-lance journalist residing in Edmonton and is the author of the Canadian bestseller *All of Baba's Children*, a history of Ukrainians in Canada. Her latest article is on pornography, written from a feminist perspective, and will soon appear in *This Magazine*. The following article was written in the fall of 1977 in the wake of Leonid Plyushch's North American tour. It relates her impressions of Plyushch's appearance in Edmonton and his relationship with the Ukrainian-Canadian youth of today.

That was it, to mean well! He caught a glimpse of that extraordinary faculty in men, that strange, altruistic, rare and obstinate decency which will make writers or scientists maintain their truths at the risk of death. Eppure si muove, Galileo was to say; it moves all the same.

T.H. White

In Edmonton, in September, 1977, there is a press conference with Leonid Plyushch, Soviet Ukrainian dissident, in the basement of St. Joseph's Roman Catholic church. There are a half dozen of us, under Christ in Gethsemane and two popes on the wall, and Plyushch, in a baggy Soviet suit, collarless shirt and with a leather briefcase.

Not for nothing is this press conference, and the public meeting that evening, being held on the ethnically neutral ground of an "anglo" church. Here Plyushch can seem to represent Ukrainianness in general, dissidence in general. For among the Ukrainian-Canadians in Edmonton there are those who would say he does not represent them. Heaven forbid. Those on the old left, for instance, the Party faithful, will say Plyushch is an anti-Soviet madman and his ideas therefore deranged. It is correct to ignore his arrival among us. Those on the right, the ultra-nationalistic, anti-communist emigres, will say he

ment, personal contacts with the Crimeans, the Jewish movement, the Moscow human-rights groups, and we have *semnydyav*." (He dips again into the briefcase and holds up two typed pages of onion-skin paper.) "A person who receives such a document types up five more copies and passes them along, hidden in their clothing, their shoes." Why is there such repression? "The system is founded on lies. On terror and political monopoly." (Here he pulls out a copy of the Soviet constitution.) "The new constitution that is being planned will be worse than Stalin's. I wouldn't be surprised if there are clauses in it 'taking care' of the dissidents. The contradictions between the demands of the economy and its management, between the masses and the elite, are growing and at their centre are the technologists. A state which is built on disinformation cannot work: scientists and engineers need information. The danger is that the technocratic fascists — those who are interested only in efficiency — will merge with the fascist nationalists, the Great Russian chauvinists." What do you think of premier Peter Lougheed's recent trade mission to the Soviet Union and his refusal to speak out on the question of imprisoned dissidents? "This was opportunism of the Munich type. Convenience, not principle, dictated the premier's decision."

the bourgeois democratic state are precisely in a position within that state to publicize the voices of those rendered speechless within other regimes. This too: that the progeny of electronic media, their consciousness trained by television and the movies, are here the caretakers of the printed word, the page, the moveable type, not to mention of the cramped handwriting on onion-skin, whole volumes of research and polemics rolled into tiny cylinders that fit into the seam of a dress. "The vanished man, miserable as a fly," wrote the poet Yuri Galanskov, dead in a concentration camp in 1972, "moves still between the lines of a book."

For all the radical politicians, though, for all the febrile tremors of nonconformism and protestation radiating out from Plyushch's visit, there is nevertheless the faint odour of the filth here, of the Cold War and McCarthyism and — lest we forget — Social Credit. Now, as then, numbers of people, are attaching themselves to a campaign of anti-Sovietism, generated by the international terror over civil rights, or the lack of them, within the Soviet Union which is climaxing precisely during a period of severe dislocations — the catastrophe of the unemployed, the tightening noose of foreign ownership of the economy, the desperate projects in the pursuit of energy, the will to separate of the Quebecois — within Canada.

Onstage an Anglican minister draws the parallel between the repression of civil liberties and the martyrdom of Christ. A man from Amnesty International says that the struggle for human rights is a "journey made only by brave men and women and it is made for all of us." The head of the Alberta Federation of Labour says we must not take for granted the freedoms we do own in this country. Around such self-satisfied notions the righteous indignation of the Canadian public may be mobilized, have we not been through this movie before? Have we not then turned as a pack on the disputatious scapegoats among our own countrymen who challenge our self-satisfaction? Must we really lie in the same bed with types like Norman Pidhoretz, editor of *Commentary*, who, in such perfectly liberal projects as gay rights, anti-war resistance and disarmament, perceives the "failure of the anti-Communist will" and in Carter's human rights campaign the reversal of the "inexorable decline of American power"? *Deja vu*.

As the meeting progresses, however, it becomes increasingly obvious that we have in Plyushch and his campaign anti-Soviet agitation of an original colour, not the repudiation of the Bolshevik Revolution but a call for its completion in democratic socialism and the self-determination of nations. And, to judge from the panelists' remarks, we have the connections to be made between this and our own situations. They speak of a commitment to "set our house in order," of the fact that Canadian police officers have received instruction in the use of torture from American advisors, of the bugging of union headquarters during strikes, of the fact that "authority in this country has never clinched from using force to sustain its authority, as October, 1920, showed." A Plyushch rally, it seems, is less a witch-hunt than a point of resistance to the violence and injustice within the home and native land.

One notes, for instance, the numbers of young people (in their twenties), Ukrainian-Canadians, who have attached themselves to Plyushch. My generation, not attached to house payments, has perhaps passed on a political legacy after all, a critical consciousness that knows how to become available, of provocation, protest and civil disobedience. It is not necessarily true then, that the

kids of the seventies have been lost to self-absorption and domesticity. Here they are in Edmonton, rallying around a neo-Marxist, a Ukrainian democrat, a freedom-fighter, a witness. "Everybody," says Plyushch, "must take upon himself those loads he can carry." The one he carries is prodigious.

He comes to Edmonton as a representative of the Soviet and Ukrainian human-rights groups. Their optimistic strategy in turning the documents, the "pieces of paper," of the Helsinki accords, of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Man, into weapons for their own struggle against the Soviet Leviathan is a rather touching reminder that one may still hold those representatives of the people, the politicians, accountable to their signatures. He describes the inter-relatedness of tyranny. Communist China aids Chile and Brezhnev aids Iran; the dissident Bukovsky is turned over to the West in American-made hand-cuffs and Plyushch himself was tortured with Belgian and French-made drugs. When Castro visited Kiev, he says, university students and professors were told to speak Ukrainian for Castro's benefit, presto! flourishing national cultures! Otherwise, one is told in Ukraine to speak "human," i.e. Russian. A member of the audience asks: Do you believe in Communism with a human face? "I call myself a pessimistic optimist. Being in the West makes my Marxism even stronger." Several people clap, congratulating him on the mordancy of his perception. He lists the problems of humankind: pollution, crime, loss of spirituality, dehumanizing technology. "All of humanity is at the abyss." For him the primary struggle in these times is between totalitarianism and democracy. Once a democratic socialism is established in the totalitarian world, then, at last, at long, laborious last, the titanic struggle between socialism and capitalism will be engaged.

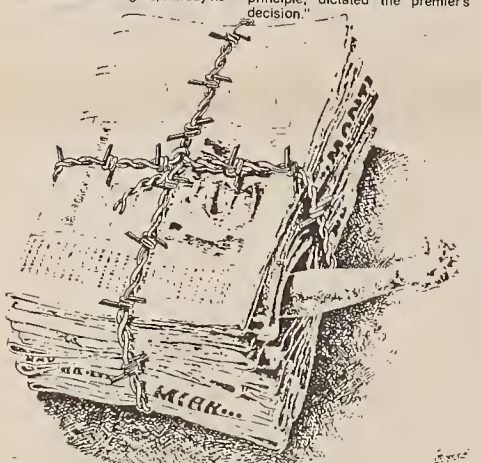
THE 'MADMAN' IS A HERO

The next night, after a Ukrainian-language meeting, there is a party for Plyushch. The twenty-year olds are there, in their embroidered shirts and Free Valentin Moroz buttons and the black flag of anarchy buttons. They seem pleased with tonight's meeting and enjoy a few laughs at the expense of the older generation of Ukrainian-Canadians who had asked. Do you believe in God, Mr. Plyushch? Who means more to you, Karl Marx or Ivan Mazepa (Ukrainian nationalist hero)? I wander over to a group singing songs about Ukrainian partisans — part of a continuous revolutionary tradition in Ukraine; these are songs of the insurgent armies of national liberation who fought both Germans and Russians between and during the World Wars — and notice Plyushch singing with them, beating out the rhythm on his knee. His left leg is stiff and unbendable. I'm told, in hushed tones, that this is the result of the drug "therapy" in the prison hospital. In fact it's the result of tuberculosis contracted in childhood and I detect here in Edmonton the beginnings of a cult. He drinks a prodigious amount, and tonight he is drunk. The young people hover around him, taking care of him. He is precious, a hero snatched from the jaws of madness.

In 1967, Leonid Ivanovych Plyushch was a young cybernetician at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, a married man, a career man, by all accounts, an enviable future ahead of him. Never mind that in 1964 he had been visited by KGB in response to several letters he had written to the Central Committee of the Communist Party (among others) in which he had pointed out certain discrepancies between Leninist texts and contemporary Soviet reality. The KGB counsellor him to keep his silence

for a couple of years and Plyushch put his sentence to, as it turned out, subversive use: he diligently studied the classics of Marxism-Leninism. It was here he learned, for instance, that Stalinist campaigns to obliterate national cultures were a perversion of the Revolution. Publicly he remained a good citizen and industrious mathematician. In 1968, however, he wrote a letter to *Komsomolska Pravda* protesting the trials of Russian dissidents and was fired from his job. In 1969, now working as a book-stitcher, he joined the Moscow-based Initiative Group (for the defense of human rights in the USSR), signed his name to a letter addressed to the United Nations and was again fired from his job. In 1972 he was arrested by the KGB for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and was imprisoned. In 1973, diagnosed as a victim of "sluggish schizophrenia from an early age," he became a patient at the Dnepropetrovsk Special Mental Hospital. In 1976 Plyushch and his family, after a prolonged campaign for his release both within the Soviet Union and in the West on the Left, were expelled from the Soviet Union. In September, 1977, he came to Edmonton on a speaking tour.

Plyushch is a small man, frail within the baggy suit, with a lined face, rheumy eyes and blackened teeth: where has he been? He speaks in a rich, deep voice and gently, tenderly even, as though the air around him were fragile. A year and a half earlier this body had been shot with drugs, flailed with convulsions, the eyes rolled upwards and the tongue hanging out, his whole being maddened with chemicals that were, in spite of his resolution, rendering him careless and insouciant, involuntarily deprived of his will to resist, to



"... he wrote a letter to *Komsomolska Pravda* protesting the trials of Russian dissidents and was fired from his job."

is a KGB agent sent abroad to confound the campaigns of Ukrainian liberationists. Besides, he's a Marxist. He must be boycotted. It is then the task of all the other strands of Ukrainian radicalism to welcome Plyushch.

The press conference, then. What kinds of criticism get people into trouble in the USSR? "An amateur youth choir in Kiev was forcibly disbanded because they made up their own programmes, because they sang old folk songs as well as political songs, because, in short, they were 'bourgeois nationalists.' Crimean Tatars, amassed at a Lenin monument and politely demanding the right to return to their homeland, were dispersed. Baptists are illegal." (Here Plyushch dips into his briefcase and withdraws a fuzzy photograph of a Baptist murdered by the police.) "A labour strike is a criminal offence." How do you know all these things? "We have the underground democratic move-

"ALL OF HUMANITY IS AT THE ABYSS"

Following the press conference there is a meeting for the English-speaking public and it is packed with members of the Ukrainian community, at least those who are not boycotting Plyushch, and with NDPers, anarchists and socialists, with concerned liberals and even a handful of blacks. The young are out in droves, especially the young Ukrainians (They were not out ten years ago, for the teach-ins, the sit-ins. They were in the student residence, playing bridge.) Across the stage a banner: FREE ALL SOVIET POLITICAL PRISONERS. The literature tables are covered with an astonishing number and variety of books by dissidents, published outside the Soviet Union, of course. Young Trotskyists, anarchists, assorted radicals, stand behind the books. The irony of the juxtaposition: the youthful critics of



"He is precious, a hero snatched from the jaws of madness."

question, to challenge, even as his wife was forced to watch.

In the mental hospital Plyushch was treated with neuroleptics and insulin. Neuroleptics are major tranquilizers, drugs to treat a major psychosis (thought-disorder) which, when administered to a non-psychotic, tends to increase that person's feel of agitation. (One's body but not one's mind is slowed down, producing the despair of the inertia of the flesh.) Insulin therapy is a very old, outmoded and dangerous form of treatment for depression; the sudden lowering of blood sugar produces anxiety, confusion, restlessness, convulsions, coma and memory loss. As to whether all of this was "appropriate" treatment for the "madman" Plyushch, the members

THROUGH

PRAIRIE

Myrna Kostash

of the World Psychiatric Association, convening in Honolulu in 1977, hesitated to say. By a mere two votes they passed a resolution censuring Soviet psychiatry for its political abuses. A timid vote considering Plyushch had addressed them and dissident Soviet psychiatrist Marina Voikhanskaya testified that some doctors in prison hospitals are KGB-trained and others are KGB officers. "There is no diagnostic clarity," says a psychiatrist in Edmonton, "regarding schizophrenia. There is disagreement not only between countries but between clinics on the proper diagnosis of the disorder." The case still stands then as a Moscow psychiatrist in Honolulu said, we in the West now have ample opportunity to observe for ourselves the nature of Leonid Plyushch's madness.

If this is madness, this getting up from all fours off the cement floor of a hospital prison to raise a hand — "I am present" — against the false speech of the Warden, then Plyushch is superbly mad, like the village crazyman of everywhere who are fed and clothed by the rest of us, that we may pursue our ordinariness. And here the young people are, at his side, making sure he gets a meal, forcing down him mugs of black coffee, then, hands under his elbows, leading him home reminding him to sleep. "Take care, brother Plyushch."

UKRAINIAN? CANADIAN? UKRAINIAN-CANADIAN?

Brother. A man from halfway around the world, citizen of a Soviet socialist republic, an intellectual marinated in Marxism-Leninism, what has he to do with these Ukrainian-Canadians, these passing-through-prairie ones, the children of rock 'n' roll and pyrothics in the National Hall? Just this, he will say: "We all come from the same village."

I take the question to his acolytes. They belong to a group called "Hromada," which means "community" and they get together to talk about the Soviet dissident movement, Ukrainian history and multiculturalism. They call themselves, "Ukrainians in the diaspora," an image that evokes almost insupportable restlessness. They could be any emigre group anywhere except for this: they were born in Canada. They are in their twenties. They define their legacy as "Ukrainian socialist democracy," so that they may be distinguished from all those Ukrainian-Canadians whose legacy is "bourgeois democracy" or anti-communist nationalism or Eastern Orthodox or "self-reliance." Or, for that matter, whose legacy is North American socialism and populism. They talk about developing social services in Edmonton for Ukrainians, food co-ops, drop-in centres, reading rooms, unwittingly repeating the efforts of a generation that preceded them in the west, the nationalist consciousness-raisers who worked in the small towns building Ukrainian drama clubs and Ukrainian reading societies, before the forces of assimilation cancelled them out. It is not with such people they feel continuous, but with Ukrainian partisans, hiding out in the Carpathians, with peasant-anarchists and Kozak outlaws, sweeping vengefully across the steppes, with gentlemen in spectacles and waistcoats, rising in the Western Ukrainian parliament to speak as the "people's socialist deputy."

(When I explain to them that I for one do not feel in permanent exile from the homeland — that home is here under my two feet — and that my sources are not only in the Ukrainian immigration but in the New Left as well, in the women's liberation movement, in Canadian liberation movements from Riel to Quebec separatists, they look vaguely sympathetic, as though it

were after all "correct" to understand my position. As they must "understand" the Dene, for instance, or the Somalis. And so, when Plyushch addressed us all as "my dear countrymen," they took themselves to be such whereas I wondered if Plyushch, in a drug flashback, thought he was still in Kiev.)

They are the children of the third, post-World War Two Ukrainian immigration and the two patrimonies, the Ukrainian and the Canadian, cross-fertilize in them in intriguing ways. Their parents were refugees who came to Canada initially in an act of expediency — the Red Army, they felt, would soon be repulsed from within Ukraine and the refugees would return — and were forced to stay on, suffering the chagrin of involuntary exile. The children grow up in their intensely political homes. Heated discussions around the dinner table, membership in paramilitary youth groups, Saturdays at Ukrainian School, summers at scout-like Ukrainian camps, attendance at conferences, congresses, and demonstrations. Speeches. Always there were speeches. "In everything," says one man, "there was total orientation towards the liberation of Ukraine. It began with that, it ended with that." In one home, the father was a member of the League for Liberation of

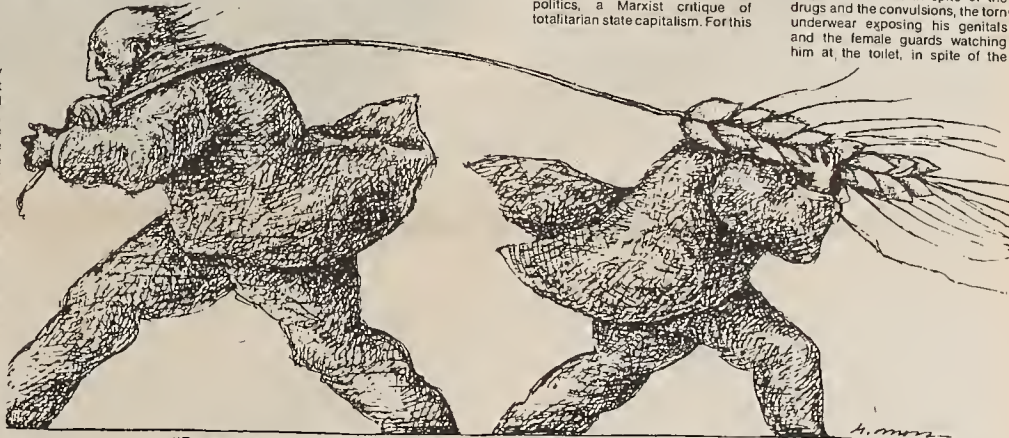
Canadian society. "The notion of Mother Ukraine back across the ocean, yearning to be free, was supposed to be sufficient to keep us Ukrainian."

And so it was, for many years. "Without my early socialization in the Ukrainian community, I'd probably be in pre-Law now, or a Jaycee." But inevitably they learned English and entered into relationship with Canadian society. They read books — Marcuse, Fromm, Bakunin, Goldman, Marx and Lenin — having encountered the New Left in their older brothers and sisters. They were polishing their Ukrainian nationalist enthusiasm with applied theory from whoever was useful. "I had heard and read about Ukrainian political thought and tasked myself, 'Where did those Ukrainian Social Democrats come from?' So eventually you run into that 'ogre' Karl Marx." Another stumbled across anarchist leader whose movement was crushed by the Bolsheviks in 1920, and his slogan, "Live Free or Die Fighting!" is on the bedroom wall, alongside posters of Red Emma and Chief Joseph of the Nez Percés. Others, who confess that, even though they are only one generation removed from the "ancestral homeland," it is "ludicrous, psychologically and politically, to deny we are

other. Some may feel more Canadian than others — in any case they feel not exactly-Ukrainian — while others worry that by speaking English as much as they do they will be anglicized beyond the recall of the liberation struggle. Some had a period of adolescent rebellion when they went out drinking with the boys and said to hell with the League for the Liberation of Ukraine but they feel now they've re-entered the community on their own terms. Some are more tolerant than others of the Ukrainian culture evolved by four generations in the prairies. But they all distinguish themselves from my generation, we, the "clean-cut" Ukrainian-Canadians, conformist graduates of Sunday school, uncritical digesters of garlic sausage and the values of the Jaycees, sentimentalizers of — it's all we've got — baba and the country wedding. Like their parents before them, they confront their Canadianized neighbours and find us lacking. "As someone who was raised in a paramilitary atmosphere," says one, "I feel stifled by all the interminable discussions about how to reach out to the unconscious members of the community. I just want to get on with it."

FROM THE SAME VILLAGE — A GLOBE APART

Enter Plyushch. He is important, they say, because of his politics, a Marxist critique of totalitarian state capitalism. For this



"Brother. A man from halfway around the world ... what has he to do with these Ukrainian-Canadians ...? Just this he will say: 'We are all from the same village.'"

Ukraine and had come from a village which manned a whole division of anti-Soviet partisans. In another home, the father armed the fifteen year old son with rocks in his pockets to throw at Kossygin when he visited Canada in 1971. In yet another, the mother wept whenever she had to speak English and her son now fears for his own consciousness whenever he fails to express himself in Ukrainian.

They went to church bazaars and concerts in the parish hall, sang the Ukrainian national anthem and saluted the blue-and-yellow Ukrainian flag-in-exile, danced in Ukrainian costumes and, at home, marched around the living room to the sounds coming off the phonograph: Mario Lanza and Ukrainian insurgents' songs. They grew up on stories about relatives imprisoned in Siberia, hanged by the Germans, shot by the Russians, starved to death in Stalin's enforced famine in Ukraine, killed in action while serving in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. At the very least, they learned the equation of the Ukrainian church and the Ukrainian language with nationalist consciousness. At the extreme, they understood they must dedicate their lives, however problematic that might be to fulfill in Canada, to the liberation of Ukraine from the Soviet Union. The atmosphere was profoundly anti-Communist and wary of the anglicizing forces of

Canadians," took to reading texts on the history of agrarian socialism in western Canada and discovered "alternative viewpoints" to their parents' conservatism (not to say reaction) in Wobblies and Ukrainian-Canadian socialists. They got summer jobs and became involved in labour disputes: "I couldn't understand at first why my bosses drove big cars, lived in big houses and yet couldn't afford to pay us more than the minimum wage." They lived in co-ops in Chinatown, and every morning while waiting for the bus, had the opportunity to observe poverty in Canada. They became critical of the anti-democratic elements in the organizations of their parents — "that World War Two mentality conditioned by hiding in the forest and artificially transferred to Canada" — and began to chafe at the exclusivity of the possessive "ours," meaning "Ukrainian."

By 1977, in their twenties, at the university, they seem to have put it all together "Super-critical Marxists/anarchists/socialists, inheritors of a revolutionary violence, of a passion for national liberation, of the outsider's alternative vision, proud bearers of a cultural legacy they can evoke to enrich their concerns and commitments, they stand between their parents, the refugees, and me, the Canadian, as a third way of being Ukrainian-Canadian. Neither one nor the

reason he is unpopular both among "official" Communists everywhere (the *News from Ukraine*, published in Kiev, claims that "Soviet society does not produce 'dissidents,' they are the product of bourgeois propaganda") and among the anti-Communist refugees, who view him as guilty of collusion with the Soviets because of his Marxism. He is important, they say, because he enriches the intellectual life of Ukrainians outside Ukraine and legitimizes, with his intelligence and reasonableness, the "Ukrainian question" which had been discredited by the excesses of the Cold War. He is "steeped in humanity," a lower life, an example of the triumph of the human spirit over the forces of darkness.

Because of the global village, they say, it is impossible to deny the interconnectedness of events — "today's nuclear blast in China is tomorrow's fallout over Canada" — and foolish to "resist the threat of totalitarianism anywhere to our own existence here." Besides, the global village also makes possible the immediate mobilization on behalf of a threatened "comrade," a hundred years ago, by the time the news reached the sympathizers, the comrade was already executed. One doesn't stop struggling until democracy reigns everywhere, they say, evoking the vision of the permanent revolution. Finally, of course, there is the blood-lie, the original meaning of the word

"brother": the relation. "It seems most natural to me, because of my linguistic, historical, familial and spiritual connections with Ukraine, for me to get involved in the campaign to free Plyushch." One's, in the end, a patriot, a compatriot, not by analogy but by inevitability: "I have limited time. I had to choose among priorities. I chose Ukraine because, although stateless, I am a Ukrainian."

It keeps coming back to that, to the amazing palpability of Ukraine, the phantasmagoria that is Canada. What is it about this place that is so unreal? "We are the youth of the seventies," it was explained to me. "By the time of our political coming-of-age we looked all about us and saw nothing but ambivalence and passivity. Ukraine was where the action was." Ah, yes, the sixties, been and gone, by the time they'd heard of Plyushch.

So when they meet him they recognize the continuity they have with him, through their parents after all and not through the mortgaged Canadians. The parents had been there all along while we have come from and gone, unrecognized, into quiescence. In Plyushch they identify the political ally: the concern about the degeneration of the revolution, the gaps in Marxism, the wrestling with ethics and morality, the humanizing of inter-personal relations. Freedom as self-consciousness and vision as the protest against necessity. The identification of the human being, proprietor of self, in spite of the drugs and the convulsions, the torn underwear exposing his genitals and the female guards watching him at the toilet, in spite of the

KGB's message to his wife that it she stopped agitating for his release they would stop the drugs, in spite of the temptation to recant — "the task of the poet is to write poetry, not to sit in prison" — and the fears bordering on hysteria, the fear of torture, the fear of loss of contact with his family, the fear of simply never being free again Plyushch resisted the moral danger of capitulation and received the larger life of integrity as the comrade, the husband, the father, and the friend. The recognition of themselves as the fellow Ukrainians. They have, after all, come from the same village. They are on the prairie now, near the farms of fellow immigrants who came out some seventy years ago. They are on the prairie now, with visions of insurgency among the sunflowers, the dillweeds, the cornstalks, dancing in their heads. It is as on just such acres that those other Ukrainians across the sea have risen and fallen in their rebel rows, pickforks and rifles wielded against not only foreign invaders but also against those within who would feed the hunger of the people for justice with the tainted meat of a bogus revolution. And so, to keep the faith with them, it is no wonder the twenty year olds take their chances not with my generation of the politicians of gesture and existential dilemmas but with Leonid Plyushch, the man, convulsed and confused, friends dead before him, visions defiled, with whom the police could make no deals.

SMASH BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY!



(KGB files from various issues)

- One of our agents couldn't help noticing that the Unification Church headed by the Korean businessman, (His Holiness) Sun Yet Moon, is a member of the World Anti-Communist League. So is the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), a front organization of the Banderite Wing of the Ukrainian community. However, he couldn't determine if it were true that the "Moonies" and "Sumies" were going to exchange camp counsellors for a summer, or if large quantities of incense and flowers were being delivered to the Ukrainian Youth Association temple on Christie Street in Toronto.

- Student readers should not listen to the radio these days, in case they hear the most vile weapon the rotten capitalist media has come up with to date: a so-called musician from Toronto named B.B. Gabor who is simply full of anti-Soviet smut and propaganda. One of his songs, "Moscow Drug Club" — "where the Reds play the blues" — is a vicious attack on Soviet reality that purports to describe a secret nightclub in our glorious Kapital city. In addition to calling our beloved five year plan "a joke," the song falsely claims that degenerate elements and social parasites loaf about in this secret hang-out "smoking Georgian gold," refusing "to do what they are told." Lies! Everyone knows that if such a club existed we would have heard about it already. Heaping insult upon slander, the song also falsely states that jazz, which is just noise produced by decadent Bourgeois culture, is illegal in our glorious Motherland and that it is "ten years behind the Western scene." Even more venomous yet is a song called "Nyeti Nyeti Soviet Jewellery," a thinly-disguised attack on our progressive nationalities policy and our enlightened treatment of religious minorities. We understand this traitor Gabor has family in Hungary; obviously, he needs a refresher course on what happened in 1956.

- The conflict between Gregorian and Julian calendars becomes especially acute at Christmas time(s). Consequently, a compromise has been suggested by the Delegation of Ukrainian Nativists for Christmas Extension (DUNCE) in which the Christmas season for Ukrainians would be observed as a holy month lasting from Dec. 19 (St. Nicholas Day) to Jan. 22 (Ukrainian Independence Day). Many are already following this solution and numbers are expected to increase.

- Boy, oh boy! Can we ever raise our heads and say that we've "made it" in Canada. Did you see that Ukrainian Christmas special on CBC? During PRIME TIME! Colour ad in Maclean's and all. The KYK National Executive almost collectively bursting their blood vessels as their heads swelled with pride. Learning all about the intricacies of the Ukrainian Christmas ritual calendar. And Cecil Semchyshyn's voice... Actually, my friends, we got our maitry taken to the cleaners. The show would have been all right at half the length (preferably the first half) and shown regionally — but broadcast coast-to-coast before a possible audience of twenty million plus??? Perhaps we should just stick to politics, religion, and chronic alcoholism.

- It's not known if Soviet leader Brezhnev was in attendance at the Boney-M concert, but if he had shown up in one of the many luxury cars he owns, it would have added a touch of class — the ruling class. Brezhnev, communism's most prominent citizen, owns a Rolls-Royce, a Cadillac, a Mercedes, a Citroen-Maserati, a Chevrolet (still a proletarian at heart), a Lincoln Continental, and a Matra-Rancho cross country car. This information came out recently when his Highness was invited to test drive Aston Martin's \$50,000 V8 Vantage on Russian roads. Aston-Martin officials said they think Brezhnev will be impressed by their car's acceleration rate from 100 mph to its top speed of 170. Leonid's mother reportedly is worried what will happen to her son if the Reds ever come back.

- Ukes and Nukes. Harrisburg, Pa., site of the recent Three Mile Island nuclear disaster, is in the midst of a heavily-Ukrainian populated coal-mining belt. It was, in fact, the 1902 site of the First Convention of the Society of United Ruthenian (i.e. Ukrainian) Church Communities in the U.S. and Canada. As such it stands cherished in our history. Let's hope it stays on the map.

Toronto — Touted as *The* social event of the season (next to Malanka) — U of T's "Mariposa Belle" boat cruise dry-docked for the better part of the evening this past May. Over one hundred and fifty of Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal's elite gathered to rub elbows and shoulders with U of T's old and new executive powerbrokers. Highlights of the evening included dancing under the stars in front of the Harbour Castle Hilton; a formidable buffet dinner; wild dance contest participants shimmying for Vodka and other assorted (or sordid) viles and a post-cruise soiree at the White House, home of Past-President M. Ilnycky. All in all, a night never to be forgotten — at least no one got seasick.....



(v4 n15, November 1971)

- You've all heard of the 6 million dollar man, but did you know the Ukrainian community has a 7 million dollar man? At least that's what artist Dimitri Farkavec wants for the smallest painting in the world, and he should know because he painted it. At last report the Ripley's Believe it or Not Museum in Niagara Falls was nibbling, and bargaining was under way. Can you believe it?

- Our own V. Koskovych is still under pressure from the Rhinos (last seen in their favourite, local watering hole, the Hotel Vega) to run in Edmonton East. If he charges and crashes through, our main man plans to make Joe Clark an ambassador to Disney World, to trade David Suzuki for Paul McCartney, and to introduce tough new austerity measures that would replace the entire Canadian Olympic team with Steve Paproski, Minister of Amateur Sports and Fitness. The only problem may be in getting the latter to compete in the team and the women's events. But, where there's a will, there's a way. Go get 'em, tiger!

- Makhno lives! — at least in spirit, anyway. Three Lada automobiles were recently set ablaze in a Perpignan garage owned by a Lada dealer. The next day the Agence France Presse received a phone call from a group claiming responsibility for the 'attack'. The message: "The Perpignan garage — that's us, the Sons of Makhno. Happy birthday Mr. Brezhnev!"



Nestor Makhno.

Canada at the Crossroads

Mike Diffniuk



Roy Romanow speaking at the "Canada at the Crossroads" conference.

"Canada at the Crossroads" Since April 1987, when was the theme of the Council the COC hosted the "Maple of Canadians fourth annual Leaf Summit" to distract conference held the week-end attention from the Quebec of October 14-16 at the "Shamrock Summit" in Chateau Laurier in Ottawa. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and U. S. President Ronald Reagan, the major delegates and many leading agenda item has been to political and academic figures mobilize its 8500 members from across the country to and other organizations to discuss strategic election defeat the "Mulroney-Reagan planning in defeating the Trade Deal." The COC anticipated majority believes that not only will Conservative government and Canada not retain sovereignty with it, the Canada-United over its energy and water rates and other direct costs are cheaper in developing States Free Trade Agreement resources, but that are in developing countries. Mr. Stronach to a string of pearls, this beautiful country of ours, each pearl, each region, being a different from the others, but strung together. It is together as a great Canada. The federal system of compromise is the source of help explain why medicare is strength that keeps that natural for Canadians, but is the necklace together and seen to be "outside the country. But out of that values." "The free trade need to compromise and deal," he argued, "places in cooperate, Romanow said, "we jeopardy the essence of a Canada." There are far different nation than most fundamental differences to nations of the world and between Canada and the U. S., the certainly a nation different but the trade deal "puts these from the U. S., where, as I see differences at risk," and the preminent ethic has "will impose sooner or later, the emphasis on the American dream. That's individual rights, a not the Canadian dream!"

The Council of Canadians Speakers to the conference 1989. (COC) is a nation-wide were sure that the FTA was a grassroots organization that bad deal for Canada both economically and politically. Frank warned the FTA would destroy Canada's unique form of federalism, with its careful balance of national and regional interests. According to the proposed legislation to implement the trade deal, the federal government will be able to override provincial it, the policies which the U. S. heen the emphasis on the American dream. That's individual rights, a not the Canadian dream!"

has existed since 1985 to counteract activities by the federal government that were Stronach, of Markham, noted that his auto parts business would thrive under the free trade. He stressed that multinationals would prosper under the FTA because the lack of barriers federal government will be able to override provincial it, the policies which the U. S. heen the emphasis on the American dream. That's individual rights, a not the Canadian dream!"

Investment Canada, the because the lack of barriers federal government will be able to override provincial it, the policies which the U. S. heen the emphasis on the American dream. That's individual rights, a not the Canadian dream!"

Energy Program (NEP) and the Canada. He provided the example of Fleck Industries, objects to, because they individual rights, a not the Canadian dream!"

Canadian Artic waters by another auto parts American shipping. Not manufacturer, that closed up surprisingly, the founders of shop in Ontario and within 72 the COC, publisher Mel Hurtig hours had reestablished itself of Edmonton, Ontario social on the Mexican side of the U. affairs activist Maude Barlow, S.-Mexico border. With former Ottawa mayor Marion capital mobility so fluid, he Dewar and political activist posited the question as to why John Trent, all hoast ties to most multinationals would the Liberal or New Democratic stay in Canada when wage parties.

contravene the deal. It the predominant commitment to FTA is implemented as a the market place and to the result of the Conservatives development of private winning a majority, he added, enterprise.

the U. S. would have a place in Throughout the speech, Canada's constitutional Romanow underlined the deep future. The mindset of affection he had to Canada, Canadian legislators, whether with references to his provincial or federal, would Ukrainian heritage, the change; they would always hardships endured by his have to ask themselves farmer/railroader father in whether or not a new law or the late 1920's, the ever-program would affect the U. S. growing richness of the adversely. This, he argued, Canadian multicultural mosaic and what it meant for Canadians to feel not only comfortable with their individual development, but also as a collective, as a society.

While the U. S. Bill of Rights emphasizes individual rights, the Canadian Charter balances individual and the community, Romanow said. The different traditions also help explain why medicare is natural for Canadians, but is seen to be "outside the mainstream of American values." "The free trade need to compromise and deal," he argued, "places in cooperate, Romanow said, "we jeopardy the essence of a Canada." There are far different nation than most fundamental differences to nations of the world and between Canada and the U. S., the certainly a nation different but the trade deal "puts these from the U. S., where, as I see differences at risk," and the preminent ethic has "will impose sooner or later, the emphasis on the American dream. That's individual rights, a not the Canadian dream!"

Use of Ukrainian Language Discussed

(UPA) Under the umbrella of Language of the Ukrainian language. Announcements, glastnost, the defence of the Academy of Sciences, V. M. road signs, administrative Ukrainian language has once Rusanivsky as admitting that forms, and village meetings again materialized in the such large cities as Kharkiv, all use the Russian language. Donetsk, Voroshilovgrad and Many letter published in the Odessa had virtually no journal mentioned the Ukrainian language, Dmytro Pavlychko a prominent member of the Writers Union, continued his attack upon the anti-Ukrainian language element within the educational system and government in Ukraine. He finds fault not only in the government policies but in the attitude of the people as well, citing fear remaining from the Stalinist era, career advancement, and the fashionability of sending children to Russian schools as the reasons behind the dismal state of Ukrainian language today. Says Pavlychko, "Our language needs the fire of love and spiritual strength!"

Radyanska Ukraina, a communist party daily, reported on September 18, 1988 one example of the poor state of Ukrainian education. While Ukrainians make up 86.9% of the population of the language in Ukrainian both the educational and schools. Molod Ukrainy also governmental systems as well out of thirty schools in that published a group of letters as the Ukrainians who do not oblast are Ukrainian. There protesting the neglect of speak the language. Dziuha exist few Ukrainian language the Ukrainian language to a concluded his article with a nurseries and of these many secondary position in the call not to ignore the second-are Ukrainian hy name only. Ukrainian SSR. Meanwhile the rate status of the Ukrainian About a month later, the same literary journal Vitchyzna language in its own republic newspaper quoted the (no. 7/1988) says there has and advocated wider use of director of the Institute of been no progress in terms of Ukrainian guaranteed by law.

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Українці Концертують

ТАРАС ГУЛА

І Святкують в Оттаві

В столиці Квбеда, Оттаві, від 6-9 ого жовтня відбулося триденне святкування Тисячоліття. Відправлено соборний молебень, був урочистий бенкет, де говорив дуже гарно і чемно Джо Кларк, в в суботу відбувся концерт.

Концерт такого в українській громаді ще не було!

Очевидно найбільшою сензацією була Люба, котра після десяти років віддалювання від своїх українських коренів, заспівала нам українську пісню "Дивлюсь Я На Небо", в дуже гарній аранжировці, під супроводом її мужа на гітарі. Співала вона також англійську — мало хто вмієвав.

Попа Любою, настрій концерту був досить спокійний і тяжкий. Виконання всіх, окрім хору Бурлака — котрі не дали нам почути нунівс композиції Зеновія Лавришина "Молитва Подяки" — і недале виконання неціквого твору Ю. Фіалі, Стефаном Стариком, було на високому рівні.

Старик себе дещо підбив гравим уривок з Сонати Брамса, але цей твір, навіть у дуже різноманітній програмі, був цілком неспотрібний. Виглядає що нема українського матеріалу для сольного скрипки. Так чи так, Брамс тут неспотрібний.

Краще понавсях хор ім. О. Кошиця котрий співав дуже молитовно, і без крику, хоча у місцях було слабо чути басів. Найкраще ім вишшов твір Стеценка "Благослови Душу Моя".

Супротивно від стилю Люби, був виступ Люби та Ірини Жуків, котрі грали вітгову прем'єру Гері Кулеші "Мітологія на Два Піанно".

Ті що дуже хвалили Любу переважно критикували цей твір. Говорили що за довгий, розлізлий, дивний і так подібно. Мені самому дуже подобався цей твір. Кулеша захопив, на мою думку, впливи перед-християнського "мітологічного" світу на нашу сучасну культуру. Це не легкий твір — Кулеша не дурець всіх що творили перед ним. С сенс руху в творі, в гармонії несе дисонанцію, хоча твір є неперечено загрунтований у 20-у столітті.

Треба більше як раз послухати цей твір. Ціле шаста що слухаю РАДІОюманітність і почув його дівчі. Нажаль більшості присутніх правоподібно знов не почують його.

Решта концерту мав більше тривічний дух. Ірина Вельгаш співала Гіатиніна "Богородице

Діво" в обробці Кулеші. Пригравав Ірині світової слави квартет "Орфорд". Цим твором концерт розпочався, і ним Ірина надала той решту концертові. На жаль програма була така різноманітна, що в місцях не трималася купів, і не вдалося цей тон розпрацювати. Бракувало тягlosti, якої було видно що організатори бажали.

Одне що додало до тягlosti, це вигляд сцени і покшення між виступними іконами, ніби в повітрі.

Ірина Вельгаш теж співала "Владико Неба і Землі" з хором Кошиця.

Що це?

А де танці??

Чи може бути український концерт без танців?...

...Були танці, але інакші — не народні.

Організатори взяли зірку балетного світу Франка Августина, і дали йому дебют яко хореограф, до музики Бетговена. Вибрали воин уривок з одного з квартетів т. зв. Розумовських. Розумовський був українцем який служив цареві у Відні і знав Бетговена. Бетговен уживав українські мотиви в цих квартетах, і тому йому присвятив. Танцювала Клавдія Мур, а пригравав своїм динамічно лагіним, серйозним та інтенсивним стилем квартет "Орфорд".

Закінчився концерт "Молитвою за Україну" Миколи Лисенка, і публіка вийшла досить запоморочена бо ж це був концерт декуди більше важкий як звичайно. Але гадаю що це був концерт який більше лишиться в пам'яті всім присутнім.

Треба похвалити організаторів за дуже відважну програму. Хоробра вона була тим що мішала популярне з важким. Це певно була велика робота, зібрати стільки виконавців на один вечір.

Нажаль, видно що трохи забракувало зусилля до складження програми. Назгал вигляд з досить шляхетний і естетичний, за винятком української частини. Виглядає ніби була додана в останній хвилині — друк жвавлений, та багато інформації що можна було прочитати в англійській і французькій мовах, не зійшли місця в українській.

Це відірвало дещо від професійної атмосфери концерту.

Тепер тільки чекаємо на наступний концерт в Оттаві. Маю надію що будемо чекати менше ніж тисячу років.

Останнього, тобто цього 1988 року, українська громада відбула та пережила багато — пребгато різних подій. Від святкування тисячоліття у містах і селах цілого світу, до П'ятого Світового Конгресу Вільних Українців. Можна без сумніву сказати що цей рік вийде всім у пам'ять як надзвичайно парадний і величавий. Від фестивалю української музики в Едмонтоні до святкування Квітничкої громади в Римі в Православній в Гамльтоні, від виступів Ніни Матвієнко в Вінніпегу і в Торонті — виступи котрі показали нам глибини української культури — до Оттавіні Монреалю, а на останній тиждень цілий світ з'їхався до Торонто.

Були два Мистецькі виступи які завершували тиждень політичання в конгресі. Перший у П'ятиничко, був хіба найбільше могутнім з всіх. Ним провадив могутній чоловік — майстер Володимир Колесник. Склад він програму котра представляла нам і іншим українську класику.

Концерт був у двох частинах. У другій частині Канадсько Український Оперний Хор базований Торонта разом з Едмонтонським хором Дніпро співали в супроводі симфонічного оркестру. Правда що через силу оркестру й бурхливо-інтенсивного стилю диригентури Колесника хор переважно співав без динаміки, але співав без крику і з дисципліною.

Співали вони виключно твори з української опери — Лисенка, Вахнянина, Аркаса, Жуковського, Меїтуса та Гуляк-Артемовського "Владико Неба і Землі". Цей твір певно був відспіваний на кожному концерті на котрому я був. Найкраще, музично, відспівав Анатолій Солов'яненко з Бандуристами з Києва. Але він співав покручену версію, на Совєтські слова.

У першій частині чули ми два твори українських композиторів, Бориса Лятошинського "Слав'янське Концерто на фортепіан і оркестру", і Валерія Кітки концерто на оркестру "Українські Колядки, Щедрики і Веснянки". Обидва були виконали дуже досконало оркестрою хоча декілька скрипалів, було видно грали недало.

Лятошинського твір, не був прекрасним окрім другої частини яка співала. Перший і третій за дуже занурені у музику дев'ятнадцятого століття.

Валерія Кітки композиція прекрасна. Він уважає оркестру не як збірку різних інструментів, але як один органічний інструмент з котрого він витискує все що може. Оркестра моментами пульсує ніби жива, і кричить і плаче і танцює.

З того що я чув, сучасні композитори на Україні, до котрих зачисляється Валерій Кітка, всі компонують музику яка захоплює слухача. Уживаючи старовинні мотиви вони затримують дух і представляють його в модерному стилі. А сучасний стиль, не які інші дозволяє композиторів класики розрухатися і шалити.

Після такого концерту треба перерви. І був один день перерви підчас якої політики даліше політизували і голосували.

Новий голова Світового Конгресу Вільних Українців вийшов Юрій Шимко.

Ітак в Неділю зійшлося майже 10 тисяч осіб на Всенародну Маніфестацію, Завершення Святкування Ювілею Тисячоліття Хрещення України. Це теж було завершення Конгресу Вільних Українців і прівіт для нового голови.

що пробувала впровадити мистецтво до арсені гокейової. С розбіг думок чи це вдалося чи ні. С ті що були зворушені, і є ті що нудилися.

Контроверсійним елементом не були танці, котрі справді були за довгі і нудні, ні спів хору і гранія оркестру, хоч через обставини вони не трималися купи, ні спів і дивні гармонії декламаторів-співців котрі приспівували підчас монтажу.

Контроверсійним елементом був дим. Підчас співу декламаторів-співців на сцені відбувалася дія, представляючи текст який підлягав всьому. Підчас дії дим обложив сцену, нажаль він теж обложив оркестру, хор і частину публіки.

Були дві галузі в цій частині, сценарій Ореста Павлів, до котрого написав музику Адріан Івахів, і концертно-музична частина під провідом Зеновія Лавришина, котрий виставлював світову прем'єру свого великого твору "Великий День". Андрій Перекліта, яко режисер едвал підві галузі шукаючи корені українського християнства.

Був дим, були світла, були чарівні ефекти, і були дивні гармонії, і були помилки, але кось між тим всім той корінь показався. Опісля летіли дискусії. Маю надію що й даліше летять!




Були тричастини в дуже амбітній програмі — тривала п'ять годин.

Перше відбувся молебень, як завжди без контроверсій. У другій т.зв. Офіційній частині було багато промов. Відходячий голова Петро Саварин прочитав маніфест СКВУ, а довго і ентузіастично говорив нововибраний голова Юрій Шимко; котрий показав свою відвагу, ведучи всіх у спілі молитви "Боже Вислухай Благаяня".

Третя частина була відважною і контроверсійною. Відважна тим,

У всіх виступах які ми бачили цього року були більш і менш позитивні частини. Але одне що не можна завершити це с що громада показався. Люди заризувували, і організатори, і композитори, і ті що виступали, музиканти, танцюристи, хористи і всі решта. Цей дух ризиків, і спроби треба берігти, щоб молоді і старші наші творчі мали нагоду показатися, щоб не зализали у нору забуття, а творили, розростали, сварилися, і щоби заскочували, жахали, і благословили нас духом краси.

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In the Bush



Ando the Wild Man

G'day coppers!! Welcome to a They're great for throwing into the new column which is intended to toilet bowl, 'cos when someone grace the pages of STUDENT on a comes in late at night they usually regular basis and provide you with a can't see it (no electricity). An when little insight into the wilder side of the frog gets (understandably) upset, life down under. I'm Angry it starts spitting water up at the Anderson - they call me Ando the offending arse and trying to leap out. Wild Man back home in Oz. No, it's We've had some great times pulling not another of the Editors' hundreds that stunt on people. Best one was of pseudonyms that keep appearing Beaker's girlfriend from Sydney. on various articles in this paper. I'm Did she ever scream!

as real as the Tasmanian Devil (and Anyway, the purpose of our trip that is real, though in real life they was shooting. Horsearse was having don't spin around like on Bugs some problems with a few too many Bunny). I don't carry a knife as I wild pigs on his property. So, like walk down Bloor street - that's good mates, we offered to come up movie fantasy. But I can look after and drink his beer and blow the pigs myself in the outback without too away. Wild pigs, of course, are not many worries. On occasion I do get the cute little piggies you find on caught out and embarrass myself. country farms and rural shows.

Take three years ago in north These are big vicious bastards central Queensland. A mate of complete with razor sharp tusks and mine, Neil "Horsearse" Horvath, a nasty temperament. The big ones invited me and some other mates up we call razorbacks. Once they get there to his property, way out in the you down they go for the throat and the bush. The place doesn't even have a chew you to bits.

bloody name - it's about 200 km And you can't just shoot them - straight from Townsville. you need special steel jacketed ammunition. Soft nose and small night. It's a typical farmhouse built calibre shells will just bounce off of timber and galvo (galvanized their skulls and make them angrier. iron). No aircon, an outdoor dunny Unless you're good enough to shoot (toilet) and plenty of insects buzzing them through the eye. So we use around. As we drove in, we couldn't WWII .303 rifles with telescopic work out what all these squelching sights and steel jacketed ammo. The sounds were. In the morning it silly Horsearse tried it out once on became obvious - there was a plague his old "Bastard" - an old WWII of green tree frogs going around and heavy 4WD Blitzwagon. He put a these 5 to 6 inch frogs were all over shot into it at 50 feet. The bullet the road - now squashed flat. These went through one heavy steel door, frogs do have their uses though. out the other, through the wall of the

house, into the kitchen, straight through the fridge door and punctured a can of Fosters. Pity about the Fosters.

Back to the shooting trip. We cranked up the Bastard, chucked our stuff in and took off for a place about 30 miles out. As usual, a bone rauling trip. The roads are unsealed rough tracks that have never seen a grader, so they're chock full of rocks and ruts and little detours to bypass the latest fallen tree. It usually takes about three hours to get there.

This time around the shooting was great - we'd bagged 3 boars, a sow and a couple of piglets. The piglets are what really make the trip worthwhile - there's absolutely nothing like the taste of a nice young, lean piglet roasted over a fire with gum leaves thrown on to give it that eucalyptic tang. And if you can catch a snake (plenty around, but all pretty well deadly) for an appetizer, all the better. All you do is chop the dangerous end off and throw him straight onto the coals. Once he's done, you just strip off the skin and scales, the guts simply fall away, and the meat slides straight off the ribs. Marvelous!

Anyway, we saw another little gourmet porker running around down in a gully about 50 or 60 meters away from the track. I adjusted my sights, took aim and popped it straight through the brain.

Now we always shoot form the back of Neil's Bastard. That way the razorbacks can never get at us, while we fire away at our leisure. This time though, the piglet was in a gully and even the Bastard couldn't get down there. Since I shot it, I had to go and get it. For safety, I left my rifle behind - rifles are notorious for going off when you're climbing around with them. Plus I was gunna have my hands full anyway.

So down I went, picked up the

piglet still dripping blood, turn around to return when there's this unearthly howling and squealing sound behind me. I didn't even turn around to look. It was pretty obvious that mum or dad were none too pleased that I'd put a ventilation hole in their baby's brain, and they were out for blood. I just dropped that porker and went hell for leather for the nearest tree.

Unfortunately, either the tree wasn't close enough, or I was too slow, or the mother (a turned out to be sow) was too quick. She caught me with another 10 meters to go, ramming my leg with her head and tusks, breaking the leg and pulling the ankle out of its socket. Adrenaline really is a wonderful thing - there I was, busted leg, bone sticking out, but still crawling as fast as I could for that tree. You really don't feel pain one bit - until later when the danger's over.

Mum had overshot me by some twenty feet and still squealing, was turning around to come back for finals. I'd already pulled my bayonet to fight her off (not that it would have done much good). Happily, my mates on the Bastard were well on the ball. Once the sow had cleared me, all 3 rifles and one shotgun opened up, leaving a bloody mess behind. Geez, it was bloody fantastic to hear that shotgun ripping the buggery out of that vicious animal.

They quickly dragged me none too gently (now that it was

agonizingly painful) back onto the truck. The sight of my foot pointing in a direction it never had before and the bone sticking out through the flesh (now starting to get dirty) didn't help much either. Neither did the half bottle of vodka they gave me. And the trip back! I reckon that scumbag Horsearse must've driven over every rock and hole he could find. I remember it as the longest and most painful ride ever. They tell me I came up with some great new names and insults.

It was another 50 km past the farmhouse to the hospital where some ratbag doctor decided to temporarily set the leg without anesthetic. Of course, the nurse had to cut my jeans off first and give me an injection in the bum against diphtheria. Halfway through this I noticed that peasant Neil perving through the screens with this enormous bloody grin on his face.

What a Horsearse! So I had no choice but to throw the wine sample bottle at him. That got him out, but the nurse was none too impressed though.

Thank goodness the trip to Brisbane was on a plane. There I was properly looked after. Now I'm carrying a couple of lovely scars as mementos and until a year ago, Neil would still ask me if I'd learnt how to outrun a pig yet. That was until he had his own little adventure with a 15 foot saltwater crocodile.

Playing dentist. But that's for another time.



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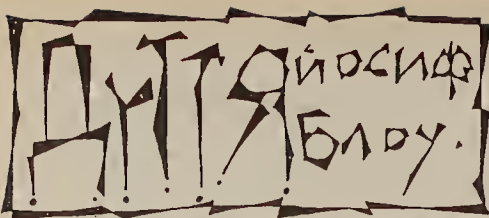
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Letter From Ukrainian Hippie

Багато не буду базікати бо мені все скляло.

Ну здається що вже вам всім, ну майже всім, життя трохи успокоїлось. Всі брехуні, гандлярі, наївні оптимісти і смертливий песимісти замкнули свої гаві і заховавшись в їхній суспільній шпарі. Всі вже вони перестали обіцяти нам що dadуть нам майно або грозили що інші заберуть від нас що іаше. Тихо і спокійно на світі. Нарешті, коли читаю газету, зможу довідатися що діється у світі.

Канадійське суспільство прийшло назад до уму іславно тому. Тоді коли більшість громадян зазначили на карті кого з групи політичних гандлярів і інакшних ієродордсних істот був би найліпшим послом до уряду. Найчастіше, можна навіть сказати завжди, цей вибір не доходить до питання, хто найліпший, а питання ставиться хто менш найгірший — хто мені найменше кривди зробить коли буде сидіти в парламенті.

Люди в останніх виборах голосували на всілякі менші політичні партії, бо найбільші партії вже забули що це люди, що це принципи, що справедливість. Після найбільшних партій тільки можна розрізняти бо носять краватки інакшої краски. Менші групи так як релігійні, екологічні чи навіть партія Носорогів тепер набирають велику силу бо вони виглядають так як правдиві люди. Недавно Партія Носорогів майже виграла місце в парламенті в декількох районах.

Люди кидують на ці партії свій голос бо нема що інакшого робити. Сидіти вломи і дивитися на телевизор не цікаво, бо там тільки говорять про вибори. Впиться в кияні не можна бо в законі написано що не можна продавати алькоголю аж до голосування не скінчиться. Уряд хоче щоб всі були тверезі, щоб всі думали що це поважна дія, що голосування щось змінить. Ну то валиш до місця де голосується і голосуєш за кого небудь.

Так чи так — той що вибде тебе сп'єрдолить.

THIS IS CARRYING
MULTICULTURALISM
A LITTLE TOO FAR !



In his view, all the Communist blindly mimicking stupid indoctrination he was Western fashion." subjected to in school "was The hostility of Soviet society pure fiction."

When he began not to conform unofficial youth groups, like the one that Petro Vladimirov belonged to, changed his view of the outside world from one of "love" to one of "animosity." Today, he hopes, times are changing as previously their existence was always "hushed up." Only rarely did an article appear about them in pre-Glasnost days usually under the title "parasites." Petro Vladimirov has now decided to take the opportunity of the present policies to "try to change things."

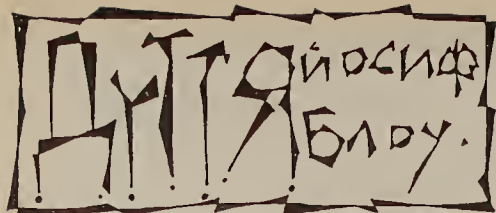
The editors of *Yunist* follow the letter by stating that membership in these unofficial youth groups in the USSR number in the millions and therefore there is a need to discuss them. The methods used in the past against Petro Vladimirov did not solve the problem, but, instead, made it worse. They ask themselves, "Is this phenomena dangerous to us, and if it is, what does the danger consist of? And if it is necessary to battle with it, then with what methods?" These violent experiences with the militia were not isolated affairs. The more people he met in different cities, "the more I heard, and saw with my own eyes, as to what was happening everywhere, and, to what, in the full meaning of the word, terrorism we were being subjected." Hippies, "without provocation, were often insulted, beaten and given haircuts against their will." In addition, they were labelled as "parasites, drug addicts, anti-Soviets, sectists, crazies-- do I have to go on? The most innocent accusations in our direction were in stupid taste-- that we were

Player's

A taste you can call your own.



Warning: Health and Welfare Canada advises that danger to health increases with amount smoked — avoid inhaling.



Letter Hipp

Багато не буду базікати бо мені
все стекло.

Ну здається що вже вам всім, ну
майже всім, життя трохи
успокоїлось. Всі брехуни, гадаллярі,
наївні оптимісти і смертливий
песимісти замкнули свої гави і
заховалися в їхній суспільній
шпарі. Всі вже воли перестали
обіцати нам що дадуть нам майно
або грожити що інші заберуть від
нас що наше. Тихо і спокійно на

Люди кидують на ці партії свій
голос бо нема що іншого робити.
Сидіти вдома і дивитися на
телевізор не цікаво, бо там тільки
говорять про вибори. Впитися в
кнайпі не можна бо в законі
написано що не можна продавати
алкоголю аж доки голосування не
скінчиться. Уряд хоче щоб всі були
тверезі, щоб всі думали що це
поважна дія, що голосування щось
змінить. Ну то валиш до місця де

(UPA)Petro VI
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